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LOUSE IN THE RENAISSANCE

THE FLORAL GAMES; UNIVERSITY AND STUDENT LIFE; ÉTIENNE DOLET (1532-1534)

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BY

JOHN CHARLES DAWSON

PART I

THE FLORAL GAMES OF TOULOUSE

(LES JEUX FLORAUX)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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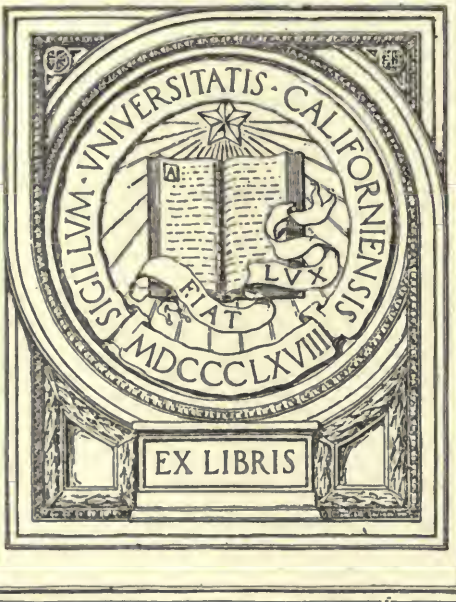

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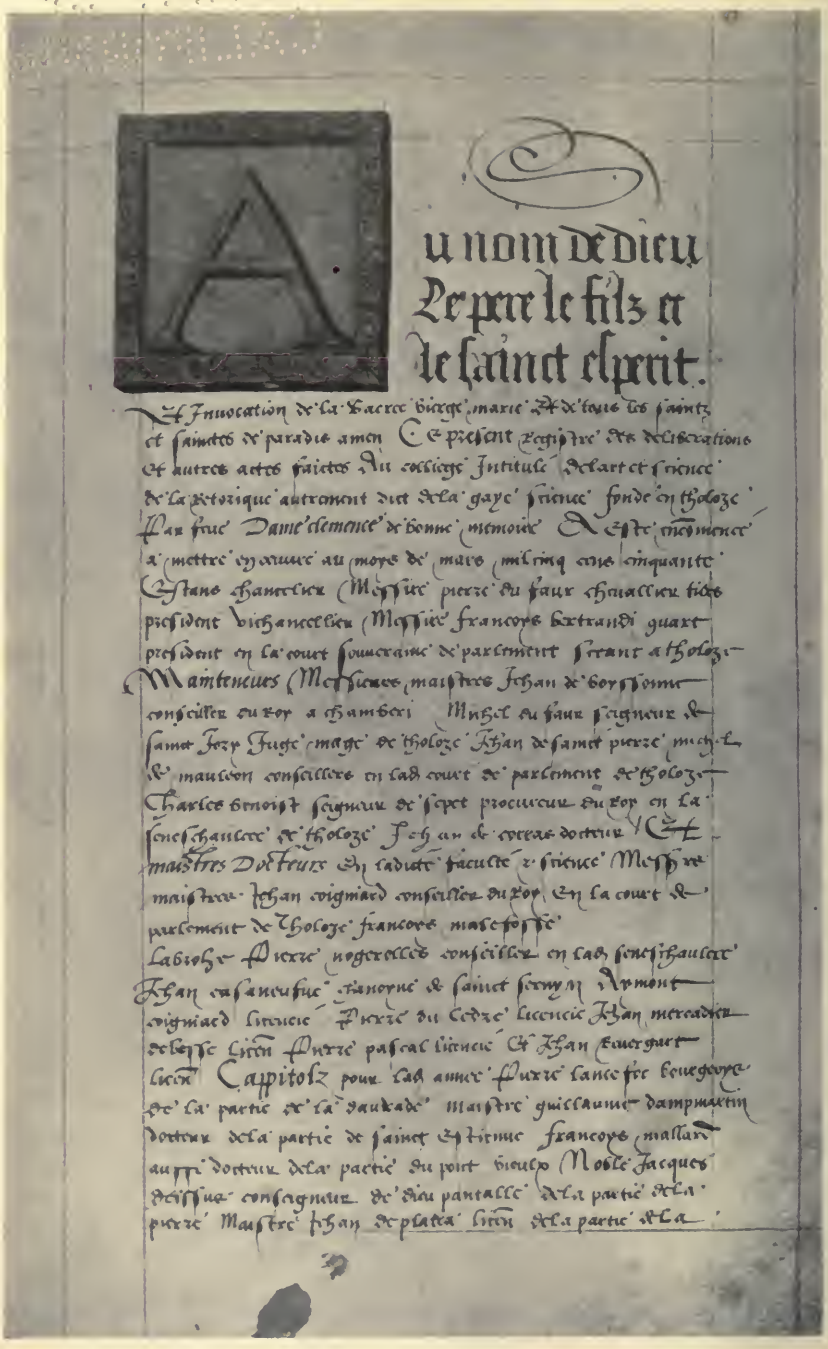
TOULOUSE IN THE RENAISSANCE



Au nom de dieu
Le pere le filz et
le sainct esperit.

Et Invocation de la Vaerce vierge marie Et de tous les saintz
et sainctes de paradis amen Ce present registre des deliberations
Et autres actes faictes Au colliege Intitulé de lart et science
de la retorique autrement dict de la gaye science fonde en tholoze
Par feue Dame clemence de bonne memoire A este cnemencé
a mettre en oeuvre au moys de mars mil cinq cens cinquante
Estans chancelier Messire pierre du faur chevallier tiers
president vichancellier Messire francoys bertrandi quart
president en la court souveraine de parlement seant a tholoze
Maintenevrs Messieurs maistres Jehan de boyssonne
conseiller du roy a chamberi Michel du faur seigneur de
sainct Jory Juge mage de tholoze Jehan de sainct pierre michel
de mauleon conseillers en lad court de parlement de tholoze
Charles benoist seigneur de sepet procureur du roy en la
seneschaulcee de tholoze Jehan de corras docteur Et
maistres Docteurs en ladicte faculte et science Messire
maistres Jehan coigniard conseiller du roy en la court de
parlement de tholoze francoys malefosse
Labrohe Pierre nogerolles conseiller en lad seneschaulcee
Jehan casaneufue chanoyne de sainct sernyn Aymont
coigniard licencie Pierre du ledre licencie Jehan mercadier
debesse licen Pierre pascal licencie Et Jehan reuergart
licen Cappitolz pour lad annee Pierre lancefoc bourgeoys
de la partie de la daudrade maistre guillaume dampmartin
docteur de la partie de sainct Estienne francoys mallard
aussi docteur de la partie du pont vieulx Noble Jacques
deissus conseigneur de dieu pantalle de la partie de la
pierre Maistre Jehan de platea licen de la partie de la

Facsimile of folio 8 r° of the Livre Rouge (Vol. I.); date 1550. Bibliothèque des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse.

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DEDICATED TO THE

MAINTENEURS

OF THE

JEUX FLORAUX OF TOULOUSE

PREFACE

In the spring of 1919 I was stationed at Toulouse as the American Dean of twelve hundred American soldier students in the University. While performing my duties in connection with the Army Educational Corps, I became interested in all phases of Toulouse life, and especially in the Academy of the Floral Games. This interest was heightened by my close personal friendship with Monsieur Joseph Anglade, professeur d'Études Méridionales in the University and Mainteneur of the Floral Games. Through Professor Anglade, I had the privilege of visiting several times the *Hôtel d'Assézat,* home of the Academy of the Floral Games, and of attending the annual meeting of the Academy of the 1–3 of May. After becoming personally acquainted with the Mainteneurs and learning the history of that ancient body, it occurred to me that some phase of the history of the Floral Games would make a good subject for investigation. When the American Mission, which visited France in the summer of 1919 to aid in promoting a more cordial understanding between the two countries, came to Toulouse, I discussed the matter with Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University, who was a member of the Mission. Professor Todd not only gave me encouragement, but approached the Mainteneurs on the subject. The latter readily gave assent and offered to aid in every way possible. They suggested that a study be made of the society in the period of the Renaissance; and in order to facilitate the work, Monsieur François de Gélis, historiographer of the Floral Games, proffered the loan of a manuscript copy of the *Livre Rouge,* the secretary's record from 1513–1641.

In the summer of 1920, I came to Columbia University and began an intensive investigation of the Floral Games. Since certain features of the history of this society in the period of the Renaissance had already been presented by M. de Gélis in his scholarly *Historie critique des Jeux Floraux* (1912), I felt that my efforts should be confined in the main to supplementing his work. For this

reason, after giving a brief survey of its earlier history, I have attempted to deal with the transformation of the mediaeval society into the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to point out the strong influence of the Rhetoricians of the north on the reorganized body, as well as the influence later of the general ideas of the Renaissance and of the Pléiade. In treating the poets, I have endeavored to show the nature in general of their poetry, and have selected for fuller study certain of the contemporaries of the Pléiade poets. The influence of Du Bellay and Ronsard was felt very early at Toulouse, but it was not until the seventeenth century that the substance and spirit of the poems for which prizes were awarded underwent strongly the influence of the Pléiade. Although the poems for which prizes were awarded were composed very largely throughout the sixteenth century according to tradition and the conventions imposed by the society, many of the poets became successful followers of the Pléiade, and among them perhaps the most elegant imitator was Pierre de Brach, of Bordeaux, contemporary and friend of Montaigne. Several poets of wide reputation, who made distinctly valuable contributions to the poetry of France in the sixteenth century, began their poetic careers at Toulouse, and are to be counted as direct products of the influence of the Floral Games. Robert Garnier, the dramatist, was twice a winner of floral prizes and published his first volume of poetry while a student at Toulouse. Du Bartas was a student in the university and won a prize in the Floral Games; it is probable that he composed his *Judith* at Toulouse. Guy du Faur, sieur de Pibrac, author of the *Quatrains,* while he never contested for a prize, was a Mainteneur of the Floral Games, and underwent the influence of his Toulouse environment. While for the most part only a follower, Brach contributed to the poetic ideas of his times by composing a series of sonnets as a vehicle for satire. Throughout the century a large proportion of the competing poets of the Floral Games were students of the university, who after their departure from Toulouse, doubtless spread abroad throughout France the interest in poetry which they had acquired. I believe that I am the first to develop the connection between the Rhetoricians and the Floral Games, to point out that the influence of the

Pléiade was felt at Toulouse as early as 1551, and to indicate that Guillaume Saluste, who won a prize in 1565, is to be identified as Du Bartas, the celebrated author of *La Semaine*.

Although my first intention was to study the Floral Games only, I perceived while perusing the pages of the *Livre Rouge* that many of the young poets were students in the university. As a result of the interest stimulated by this discovery, I have devoted Part II of my study to university and student life at Toulouse in the sixteenth century. After a preliminary sketch of the founding of the university and its history during the mediaeval period, I have attempted in broad outline to picture university life in the sixteenth century, portraying especially the intellectual and political struggles of the first half of the century, particularly of the decade from 1530 to 1540,—the clashes between the humanists and reactionaries, the earlier phases of the Reformation, the bitter rivalry for precedence on the part of the capitouls, the seneschalty and the parlement; the struggles of the professors and students to retain their ancient privileges; the reorganization of the student fraternities or "nations," and the rôle played by them in the stirring drama of the Renaissance. In dealing with the second half of the century, I have attempted to outline the course of events leading up to the Protestant Conspiracy of 1562, and finally to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. In both of these tragic events the students had a conspicuous part, especially in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which, at Toulouse, was in the main conducted by students. Many names celebrated in French literature and history are connected with Toulouse in the sixteenth century, among them Jean de Pins, Guillaume Budé, Michel de l'Hospital, Étienne Dolet, Jean Voulté, Étienne Pasquier, de Thou, Henri de Mesmes, Jean de Boysson, Cujas, Rabelais, Margaret of Navarre, Jean de Coras, Arnauld Ferrier, and many others.

While investigating university and student life, I naturally became interested in Étienne Dolet, who was a student of law at Toulouse from 1532 to 1534, and in the latter year a contestant in the Floral Games. After reading the works of the several biographers of Dolet, I was aware that his career at Toulouse had not been clearly understood and it was evident that confusion existed

as to the proper sequence of events narrated concerning him. For this reason I have devoted Part III to a fresh study of that part of his life. I have attempted to arrange the events of his career in their natural and logical sequence, and to give to the material a new interpretation. While I am offering no new facts concerning Dolet himself, I have introduced new material relating to the life at Toulouse during the period of his stay there, and have been able to show clearly the reasons for his final expulsion from Toulouse and the bearing that his life there had on his after career. I have also shown very conclusively why Dolet did not win a prize in the Floral Games in the contest which he entered at the annual meeting of May, 1534, presenting to the judges ten Latin poems. During the earlier period of this literary society, known as the period of the Gay Science, one of the inviolable rules governing the contests had been that the poems for which prizes were to be awarded should be written in *langue d'oc,* the language native to Toulouse. When the Gay Science was transformed into the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, French was substituted for the native tongue as the language in which the competing poets should compose their works. Every winning poem transcribed on the pages of the *Livre Rouge* is in French. However superior Dolet's Latin poems may have been, he could not win a prize because he did not conform to one of the most important rules laid down for the guidance of the aspiring poets. Dolet's bitterness towards Gracien du Pont, lieutenant of the seneschalty, is to be explained in part by the fact that Gracien du Pont was a mainteneur of the Floral Games, and therefore one of the judges of the contest. Dolet entered the faculty of law at Toulouse in 1532. As a freshman or *béjaune* he underwent the usual period of probation, at the end of which he was "purged of infection" and became a fully recognized student or "antique." He was at once elected as "orator" of the student fraternity or "Nation" of France, delivering, in October, 1533, the "oration" on behalf of his "nation" at the first general assembly of the "nations" in the Estudes. Upon this occasion he clashed with Pierre Pinache, "orator" of the Gascon nation. In January, 1534, Dolet was elected head or Prior of the Nation of France. His

election was followed, probably a week after on the occasion of his "Triomphe," by a second "oration," in which he dealt unsparingly with his enemy, Pierre Pinache, and the Gascons. One of the first qualifications demanded of a Prior was that he should be able to manipulate skilfully the two-handed sword and to defend his fellow "nationnaires" against all comers. That the students at Toulouse were adepts in wielding the sword is noted by Rabelais in his book. In 1531 the parlement had passed a decree abolishing the "nations," but the fraternities had failed to disband. In the spring of 1534 efforts were made to disperse the "nations" by arresting the ringleaders. The arrests were made early in April by order of Gracien du Pont, lieutenant of the seneschalty. Pinache was in part at least responsible for Dolet's arrest. Upon the intervention of Jean de Boysson, professor of law, and Jean de Pins, bishop of Rieux, Dolet was released, by order of the parlement. He entered the contest of the Floral Games in May and failed to win a prize. Humiliated at his arrest and chagrined over his failure in the Floral Games, he turned the shafts of his pen against Gracien du Pont, who a few months previously had published a scurrilous book on women. Pursued by his enemies, Dolet fled to the country where he remained in hiding until the close of the university session in June, when a decree of expulsion was passed against him. Accompanied by Simon Finet, he made his way on foot to Lyons, where some time later he had an encounter with an artist by the name of Compaing and killed his adversary with a sword. The death of Compaing led to Dolet's imprisonment in Lyons and his final execution at the stake in the Place Maubert at Paris. In depicting Dolet's career at Toulouse, I have endeavored to portray the general situation of the times both in the university and the town and to point out their influence upon the fortunes of the young humanist. The scholastic session of 1533–34 was one of the most turbulent in the history of the university, caused by the shifting intellectual and political interests of the earlier renaissance. The struggles between the humanists and reactionaries had become more acute owing to the visit of King Francis I to Toulouse in August, 1533. The hostility between Dolet and Pinache was due partly because they were "orators" of rival "nations," in part to the strong sectional feeling existing be-

tween the students of the north and the south, and also to the fact that as a "Grammarian" Pinache was opposed to the humanists, of whom Dolet was one of the most aggressive leaders. Two of Dolet's most bitter enemies were Pinache and a certain Maurus, both of whom were Grammarians. At the founding of the University of Toulouse in 1229, a provision had been made that two of the teachers should be professors of grammar. A separate faculty of grammar arose. Grammar was the "art of explaining poets and historians, the art of correct speaking and writing," and included the study of Donatus and Priscian, together with many of the foremost classical authors. By the end of the middle ages, the study of grammar had become vitiated, and the reading of the ancient authors came to be confined to the elementary reading books *Cato, Aesopus* and *Avianus*. The *Cato* was a collection of maxims and proverbs. The other two, as is obvious, were collections of fables. The Grammarians had a monopoly of teaching the classics at Toulouse. It is readily seen that there would be bitter enmity between these representatives of the perverted study of the classics, and the humanists, who stood for the restoration of the study of the best classical authors. In the fall of 1533 the struggles of both professors and students to defend their privileges became acute, the former to preserve their ancient right of exemption from taxation, the latter to retain their "nations." The troubles of the professors came to a crisis in November when they declared a "cessatio" or strike, refusing for a time to deliver their lectures. Student affairs culminated the following spring in the arrest of the leaders of the "nations." The efforts of the capitouls or aldermen to cling to their ancient authority and the struggle of the seneschalty against the growing power of the parlement were a disturbing element and had their influence both on the life of the university and also on the Floral Games, as is shown by the pages of the *Livre Rouge*. In the beginning, the discipline of the students had been intrusted by the Pope to his representatives at Toulouse. With the growth in authority of the king of France, the students had gradually come under the direct control of the seneschal and his officers. Dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the parlement had begun to have a hand in the discipline of the students, and that its

authority had become very strong in the period under discussion is evidenced by the increasing number of decrees passed by the parlement regulating student life. The struggle for precedence at Toulouse between the seneschalty and the parlement increased in bitterness until the middle of the sixteenth century, when the latter gained a footing in the *Palais de Justice.* From that moment the prestige and authority of the seneschalty steadily declined. Dolet had been arrested by the officers of the seneschalty and set free by the parlement. While his attacks on Gracien du Pont doubtless had some influence on his flight and expulsion, the main explanation of his misfortune is to be found in the rivalry between these two bodies. His expulsion put him under a cloud, and it was the skill he had acquired at Toulouse in the use of the sword which enabled him later to kill his adversary, Compaing. Thus I have attempted to point out the direct bearing of Dolet's student life upon his martyrdom and to show that his career as a humanist was only in part responsible for his tragic fate. The charge of heresy served merely as a pretext to procure his execution.

Part I of this study, dealing with the Floral Games, has been accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Columbia University. Owing to the excessive cost of printing which prevails at present, I have limited this publication to Part I, but expect later to publish the work in its entirety. In addition, I am expecting to make a study of the Floral Games in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In writing this book I have had the advice and assistance of Professors J. L. Gerig and H. A. Todd, who have specialized in the fields represented in the work of investigation. Professor Gerig's broad knowledge of the sixteenth century and Professor Todd's rare scholarship in Provençal language and literature have been of inestimable value to me in the preparation of the work. Professor Raymond Weeks, a specialist in Old and Modern French literature, has offered valuable suggestions, and has furnished me with several notes. He carefully scrutinized each chapter in manuscript. To all of these professors I wish to acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude. They have been unusually sympathetic and have given me every encouragement in the prosecution of the task. I am espe-

cially grateful to Professor Anglade and to M. de Gélis, as well as to the other Mainteneurs of the Floral Games. Miss I. G. Mudge, reference librarian of the Columbia University Library, deserves thanks for her untiring interest in the progress of the work, and has been of great assistance in the assembling of books bearing on the subjects of the several chapters.

JOHN C. DAWSON.

Columbia University,
May, 1921.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

PART I

THE FLORAL GAMES OF TOULOUSE.

(*Les Jeux Floraux.*)

FOUNDED three hundred years before the French Academy, the society of the Floral Games of Toulouse is the oldest of the modern academies of France, forming a connecting link with the middle ages and the Troubadours. The purpose of the founders of this literary association, which in the beginning was known as the Gay Science, was to foster lyric poetry, in the native language, the *langue d'oc* or Provençal (in its later development called somewhat infelicitously by Raynouard and his followers the *langue romane*). The old Provençal Poetry had reached its height in the twelfth century, and the decline of the Troubadours and their poetry came early in the thirteenth century with the crusade against the Albigenses, when the Troubadours were scattered far and wide, the nobility wiped out or ruined, and the splendid civilization of south France broken up. However, the poetic tradition lingered, and the popularity of poetry and its appeal to all classes of people was still very strong in the fourteenth century.[1] Before its decline, the Troubadour poetry had been essentially aristocratic, intended

[1] Guilhem Molinier, in announcing to the public of his day the "promulgation" of the *Leys d'Amors* (*Laws of Poetry;* the poet was known as the *Fin Amant*), a combined "Rhetoric" and "Art of Poetry," or code of laws, drawn up for the guidance of young poets of the Floral Games, sent out a letter in verse, which is evidence of the wide appeal which poetry still possessed in the fourteenth century:

> "Als excellens e redoptatz
> Reys, princeps, dux, marques e comtes,
> Dalfis, admiratz e vescomtes,
> Doctors, maestres, cavayers,
> Licentiatz e bacheliers,
> Baros, nautz, justiciers, borgues,
> Aptes escudiers e cortes,
> Avinens mercadiers e gays,
> Francs menestrals sobtils. . . ."
>
> —*Las Leys d'Amors* (tome i, p. 39), edited by Joseph Anglade, Toulouse, Privat, 1919.

for the nobility and for the courts, appealing to the middle classes but rarely, and to the common people not at all.[2] Distinctly a product of the feudal society of southern France, the Troubadour poetry was produced for the entertainment of the nobles in manor-house and château. The nobles themselves, even kings and princes, pursued the art of poetry and became patrons and protectors of the Troubadours. With the passing of the poets, the last princely protectors of the Troubadours had disappeared. It is significant that only one of the seven founders of the Gay Science (*Gaya Sciensa*) was of the nobility.[3] With one exception these men belonged to the *bonne bourgeoisie* of the times. The rise of the middle class dates from the thirteenth century. While the influence of the impoverished nobility was waning, the *bourgeoisie,* engaging in successful trade and commercial enterprises, became enriched, and its influence increased in proportion to its economic independence. Along with the acquisition of wealth came the temptation to imitate the nobility by becoming protectors of poetry; and while the term "Troubadour," as applied to themselves by the seven founders of the Gay Science, may not be strictly correct, they were at any rate the patrons and protectors of the Troubadours and the *mainteneurs* of the *beau langage roman.*[4] So far as is known, only one of the Seven was a poet, the *damoiseau* Bernard de Panassac, two of whose poems have survived, one addressed to the Virgin, the other a profane chanson.[5]

In response to the appeal of the VII Troubadours, poets from various places assembled in Toulouse, bringing with them their poems. They were "right honorably" received by the VII Troubadours and the capitouls or aldermen of the city. The exercises occu-

[2] H. J. Chaytor: *The Troubadours,* p. 10. Cambridge University Press, 1912.

[3] The only noble among the founders of the Floral Games was Bernard de Panassac, seigneur of Arrouède, who was a *routier* (brigand) of the most dangerous type. About the beginning of the year 1336, he was accused of having contributed, along with other Gascon lords, to the assassination of Géraud d'Aguin, *damoiseau.* Panassac's château of Arrouède served as a refuge for murderers who had been banished, not only from the seneschalty of Toulouse, but from the whole kingdom of France.

[4] F. de Gélis: *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux,* Toulouse, Privat, 1912, p. 13.

[5] Joseph Anglade: *Les Origines du Gai Savoir, Recueil de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux,* 1919, p. 183. Also, his edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* Toulouse, Privat, 1920, t. iv, p. 19.

pied three days, and on the last day, May 3, 1324, the prize, a Golden Violet (*Violeta del aur*), was awarded to the poet Arnaud Vidal, of Castelnaudary, for a *chanson* in honor of the Virgin:

Mayres de Dieu, verges pura,
Vas vos me vir de cor pur,
Ab esperanza segura, etc.[6]

During the mediaeval period, the society of the Floral Games was known as the Consistory of the Gay Science (*Gaya Sciensa:* otherwise called *Gay Saber*). Early in the sixteenth century the Consistory became the College of Rhetoric (*Collège de l'Art et Science de Rhétorique*), and French took the place of the *langue d'oc* as the language of the competing poets. In 1694, letters patent granted by the King, Louis XIV, converted the society into an institution of state under the name of "Academy of the Floral Games of Toulouse" (*Académie des Jeux Floraux*). Since the end of the fifteenth century the society had been popularly known under the title *Jeux Floraux*,[7] apparently an effect of the influence of the Renaissance—a reminiscence of the ancient Floral Games at Rome.

Consistory of the Gay Science.

On Tuesday after All Saints' Day of the year 1323, the "right gay company of the VII Troubadours of Toulouse," as they had styled themselves,

La Sobregaya Companhia
Dels .VII. Trobadors de Tolosa,

met under a laurel tree in a garden or grove in one of the *faubourgs* of Toulouse, and sent out a letter in verse to all the poets of the *langue d'oc,* inviting them to appear on the first of May of the following year (1324) for a poetic tournament in Toulouse. The names and callings of these VII Troubadours have been preserved.

[6] Noulet: *Recueil de Poésie en Langue Romane, "Las Joyas del gay saber,"* p. 3. The poem is here called a *cirventes,* but it is a chanson.

[7] The first official mention of this title is to be found in the Secretary's record (*Le Livre Rouge*) for the year 1555. For the significance of the earliest title, consult Anglade's edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* t. 1, pages 7 and 8; also, t. 4.

One was a noble (*damoiseau*), one a *bourgeois*,[8] two were bankers, two merchants, and one a notary.

Thus was established the ancient and honorable Academy of the Floral Games of Toulouse. The time of the first meeting, May 1–3, was adopted as the date for the annual reunion of the poets, a code of laws or art of poetry (*Leys d'Amors*) was drawn up under the leadership of Guilhem Molinier,[9] and the cultivation of the Muses in the *langue d'oc* continued to the period of the Renaissance. The list of winning poems of this earlier period exhibits a variety of poetic forms: *sirventes, canso, vers, planh, complanh, pastorela, dansa, letra.* They are generally of a religious or patriotic import, the majority of them being addressed to the Virgin Mary. The distinctly religious tendency of the society and the nature of its poetry are well expressed by the author of the *Leys d'Amors*:

"In times past, there were in the royal and noble city of Toulouse, seven distinguished seigneurs, learned, subtle and discreet, who possessed a good desire and a great affection for finding this noble, excellent, marvellous, and virtuous Dame Science, that she might give and furnish them with the gay knowledge of writing in verse, in order to know how to compose good poems in *roman,* whence they might be able to say and recite good and remarkable words, in order to give good doctrines and good instructions, in the praise and honor of God, our Lord, and of his glorious Mother, and of all the Saints in Paradise, for the teaching of the ignorant, for restraining mad and foolish lovers, for living with joy and mirth, and for fleeing ennui and sadness, enemies of the Gay Science."[10]

Although only one prize, the Golden Violet (*Violeta del aur*) was offered in the beginning, it was not long before two others were added: the Eglantine (*Ayglentina* or *Englantina*) and the Marigold (*Gauch*: French *Souci*), which were of silver. Throughout this earlier period the Violet was considered the principal *joya* or

[8] The term *bourgeois* seems to be, in this connection, almost the equivalent to a title of nobility.

[9] Et adonc comezero de bocca a mestre Guilhem Molinier, savi en dreg, que el fes e compiles las ditas reglas, etc. *Leys d'Amors,* édit. Anglade, t. 1, p. 14.

[10] Joseph Anglade: *Origines du Gai Savoir, Recueil de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux,* 1919, p. 179. *Las Leys d'Amors,* t. 1, p. 8.

prize, and the more dignified forms of verse were reserved for it. A study of the winning poems that have been preserved[11] shows that the principal prize was always bestowed for poems written in the form of a *canso,* or *vers.* While the poem of Arnaud Vidal, who was the first to win a prize, is described as a *sirventes,* it is in reality a *canso.* The only exceptions to the above rule are one example of the *planh* and one of the *pastorela.*[12]

Latin civilization had been transplanted to southern Gaul during the period of the greatest glory of the Roman Empire. Lyons, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, Narbonne, Nîmes and Toulouse became centers of Roman culture at its best. The museums of Toulouse and Arles, the *Maison carrée,* Temple of Diana, and the Arena at Nîmes, the Theatre of Orange, and the old Roman walled city of Aiguesmortes, are all mute and silent reminders of a past glory. With the decay of the Empire, this civilization became gradually transformed into a brilliant feudal and chivalric society. The culture of the past was not lost, but transmuted, finding its expression in the lyric art of the Troubadours. Lyric poetry, as we have it preserved in the great literatures, is the offspring of an advanced civilization. While the elegant Troubadours of the south were singing their refined and intricate lays at the courts of sovereign princes, or in the manor houses and châteaux which dotted the country-side, their ruder brothers of the north, the Trouvères, were singing in epic strains the death of Roland, the prowess of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, the deeds of recalcitrant nobles, or the adventures of the Crusades. With the ancient *Provincia* as his base, Caesar had, in eight successive campaigns, covering as many summers, conquered from the Gauls the territory of the west and north. And while the north underwent the influence of Roman civilization, it was the culture of Rome in its declining days, and it was a retarded civilization. The result was, that while the south produced a refined

[11] See Noulet's edition of the *Fleurs du gai Savoir.*

[12] In 1471 Bérenger de l'Hospital had for his subject the struggle of western Europe against the Turks, a contemporary event. Because he had treated a subject of vital interest rather than one of the conventional themes, he was awarded the prize, although neither the *planh* nor the *pastorela* were forms for which the Violet was usually awarded. By treating a subject of live, contemporary interest, the young poet introduced a new element into the contests of the Gay Science.

literature of an advanced civilization, at the corresponding period the poets of the north were composing epics, the outgrowth of a more primitive life.

The poetry of the Troubadours, with its ennobling themes of chivalry and love, was not only a source of amusement and entertainment, but it was a powerful force in the social and political life of the times, and the Troubadour's position in southern society was in a way somewhat comparable to that of the journalist of the present day. He took an active interest in the troubled life of his times, and the fierce invectives of his *sirventes* were as much feared by the powerful lords of his day as is the violent editorial by the politician of the present. Not only did he wield his pen with deadly effect, but he injected himself frequently in other ways into the movements of his time. So violent a sower of strife was Bertran de Born, that Dante, in his Divine Comedy, placed the old Troubadour in hell, "and there is no need to describe his picture of the Troubadour"

> "Who held the severed member lanternwise
> And said, Ah me!" (Inf. xxviii, 119–142.)

The greatest lords sought the good will of the Troubadour, and the fairest ladies were proud of becoming the inspiration of his verses; for it was held a peculiarly great honor in those days for a lady to become the object of the affection and admiration of a poet.

If the Troubadours inspired noble and chivalric thoughts in palace and château, their humbler companions, the Joglars (French: *Jongleurs*), who frequently sang or recited their masters' improvisations, spread throughout the land a taste for poetry and music; beneath the branches of the ancient village oak, or in the shadow cast by the elms at the well in the public square, the common people would assemble, after the occupations of the day, to hear and to repeat the songs sung by the Joglar to the accompaniment of the *vielle*. Young girls and amorous youths lent breathless attention to the loves of Guilhem de Cabestanh and the beautiful Sermande. We can imagine them shivering with horror when Raymond de Castel-Roussillon informed his wife that she had just eaten the heart of her lover, and all eyes would be filled with tears when the unfortu-

nate châtelaine, in response to her husband's demand as to how she liked her frightful meal, replied that she had found it so good that she would never eat another, rushed to the window of the castle and hurled herself into the yawning abyss. Turning from sterner pictures of love and hate, of infidelity and revenge, the Joglar would relieve the gloomy impression which had been produced upon his audience. To the serious song succeeded the gay refrain and verses filled with covert malice toward the lords and princes. As the Joglar sings his lay and thrums the strings of his *vielle,* a distant sound is heard. All turn, and in the distance is descried a gray-robed pilgrim, who approaches chanting solemn hymns of the sublime mysteries. For a moment the Joglar ceases to be the center of interest, and all listen to the pilgrim's tales of journeys to holy places and to the land of miracles. The pilgrim passes, and new interest is found in the music of the *hautbois* and *tambourin*—a prelude to the dance on the village green.[13]

Although the princely families were broken up and the occupation of the Troubadour sadly diminished, the spirit of poesy remained abroad in the land, and the Troubadours found their successors in the bourgeois society of Toulouse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And while the life of the poets of the Floral Games lacks the picturesqueness of that of their ancestors, it is not without its interest. A mural painting in the Hôtel de Ville at Toulouse portrays the poetic contests which were held in a pleasant grove outside the city walls. Upon a rostrum erected under the symbolic branches of a laurel tree stands the poet facing the judges of the contest. In his hand he holds a scroll or parchment upon which is inscribed a rhythmic prayer to the holy Virgin, mother of God, or an invocation to one of the saints in paradise. In measured or impassioned tones, as the case may be, the seeker after Dame Science recites his composition, which is listened to in enraptured silence by the imposing audience grouped about the speaker's stand. As the assembled throng hears the liquid syllables flow from the mouth of the poet, one of the auditors, a mere youth, in whose breast perhaps the divine fire of the Muses is already stirring, starts forward, drinking in with eager attention, the lines of the *canso* or *vers.*

[13] Moline de Saint Yon: *Histoire des Comtes de Toulouse,* vol. i, p. 545.

Poetry is not dead; but instead of dwelling in the great mansion as the companion of noble lords and fair châtelaines, she has been caught up in the all-embracing arms of the church and henceforth, for two centuries, will be but a handmaiden to serve the church's interests. In the course of time, the religious fervor which ruled the spirits of men at the beginning of the Gay Science, lessens and grows lukewarm; the power and authority of the church weakens, and men begin to have disturbing and rebellious thoughts on the subject of religion. The language and ideas of the victorious north have gradually won their way into the centre of the conquered country; along with the lessening of religious fervor, the poets of the Gay Science tire of writing in their ancient tongue, and become weary of the constant annual repetition of the ancient Provençal forms of verse. As the end of the fifteenth century draws near, the languishing spirit of the Gay Science all but dies. With the advent of Louis XII, the influences from the north penetrate with renewed vigor. Lacking within herself the power of renascence, Dame Science forms a union with Dame Rhetoric, and for two centuries more the poetry of the Floral Games becomes the grafted product of the dying spirit of the south and the decadent spirit of the north.[14] During this period the poets lack inspiration, poetry expresses itself in the narrow trammels of the *ballade* and *chant royal,* and comes to be written in a language that is foreign to the poets and to which they adapt themselves only with difficulty. The simplicity of the reunions in the garden outside the city walls has been replaced by formal gatherings in the city hall. The disinterested spirit of the early founders becomes replaced by the desire for honors, and the office of mainteneur is sought more and more frequently by the regents of the university, the higher officers of the seneschalty and the members of the parlement.[15] With the rise of the parlement to the first place of influence, the offices of the Floral Games are more and more preëmpted by it, until by the seventeenth century, the society has become, as it were, an adjunct of the parlement, and the red robe of the parlementaires becomes

[14] Dumège, *Histoire des institutions de Toulouse* (tome 4), mentions the Rhetorical influence, but does not develop the subject.

[15] The French form of this word is preserved throughout in preference to the English word "parliament."

the symbol of the pomp, display and conventionality surrounding the annual reunions. No longer do the poets from the plains of Gascony and the valley of the Aude turn their faces each passing year toward the city of the Muses. The cultivation of poetry becomes an exercise of the students in the university and the clerks of the Basoche,[16] and whatever of inspiration these may possess is stifled by the religious traditions descending from Dame Science and the restricting and artificial trammels of the *chant royal,* the legacy of Dame Rhetoric. The result is, that for two hundred years not a single poem above the second order is produced by the contestants for honors in the Floral Games. And yet, notwithstanding the mediocrity in general of the poems for which are awarded prizes at the annual reunions, the society exerts a wholesome influence on poetry; and French literature, as we shall see, becomes enriched by it.

College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric

The second epoch in the history of the Floral Games, that of the College of Rhetoric, extends from 1513 to 1694. The principal sources of information concerning this period are the secretary's record known as the *Livre Rouge,* extending from 1513 to 1641; and from the latter date to the raising of the society to the rank of an Academy under royal protection in 1694, the "Triumphs" (*Triomphes*) of the winning poets. The *Triomphes* were little volumes of poems published usually by Colomiès or Boude, bearing symbolic and frequently fantastic titles, such as: *Le Mont de Parnasse pour le Triomphe de la Violette, Les Larmes de Clytie, pour le Triomphe du Soucy,* or *Le Vice abattu et la Vertu triomphante pour le Triomphe de l'Églantine.* In them the poet included his winning poem, a number of other compositions which he had in all probability read before the judges, and the madrigals of praise and congratulation composed by his friends. The *Livre Rouge* is a precious record, without which very little could be known of the Floral Games in the period of the Renaissance. It was begun in

[16] The Association of the Clerks of the Parlement. The Basoche (*basilica*) at Paris had considerable influence on the history of French comedy. The corporation passed out of existence at the time of the French Revolution.

1550 by the greffier or secretary, Bernard Coderci, who inserted into his book all of the loose leaf records he could find from previous years. The two volumes of manuscripts of the *Livre Rouge,* preserved in the archives of the Floral Games at Toulouse, are of the *format petit in-folio,* and contain the annual proceedings of the College of Rhetoric from 1513 to 1641. The first of them covers the period 1513–1583; the second that of 1584–1641. Each of them contains 363 sheets, or in all, 1452 pages, written in cursive and Gothic characters, displaying the most varied specimens of the handwritings in vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In them are to be found the names of the chancellors, mainteneurs, maîtres, capitouls, the candidates who competed for honors, and the texts of the winning poems for which were awarded the Violet, the Eglantine, and the Marigold in the annual contests of the third of May. The original cover of the first of these volumes caused it to be called the *Livre Rouge.* The second volume, also because of the color of its cover, was known as the *Livre Vert.* The two volumes, now in uniform binding, red morocco with *gros filets dorés,* are commonly known as the *Livre Rouge.* At the beginning of each volume are illuminated pages representing Christ on the Cross, together with four short extracts from the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. It was upon this illuminated text that new officials took the oath of office, swearing fidelity to the society and its interests. Up to 1550 the annual records were evidently left in loose-leaf form and, with the exceptions noted just below, were lost. Owing to the forethought of the secretary, Bernard Coderci, the *procès-verbaux* for the years 1513, 1519, 1535, 1539–1549, were included in the new book, and they are a source of valuable information on the Floral Games during the earlier Renaissance.[17] From the year 1550 the complete record was preserved of the three annual sittings: that of the first of April (*Semonce*), that of the first of May (*Ouverture des Jeux*), and that of the third of May (*Distribution des prix*).

[17] During the late war, Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, was, on account of the state of his health, honorably discharged from the French army. He spent the period of convalescence in transcribing and editing the contents of the *Livre Rouge.* The present writer was permitted to bring this manuscript copy to America, and it has become the basis of his

Both the decadence of the *langue d'oc* in the fifteenth century and the progress toward the unification of the kingdom of France, had their influence upon the substitution of French for the old native language in the poetic contests of the Consistory of Gay Science. The triumph of French over Latin as the official language of France, came with the decree of Villers-Cotterets promulgated by Francis I in 1539; but the complete ascendancy of French as the national language was delayed until the seventeenth century. It is of significance, therefore, that French made its appearance in Toulouse as a literary language as early as 1513, the year in which the native *langue d'oc* appeared for the last time in the poetic contests of the Floral Games. Although the young poets were permitted to read poems in their native tongue in the annual gatherings throughout the sixteenth century, in no case was a prize given for a poem in any language except French. Coincident with the change of language was the change of name to that of the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric (*Collège de l'Art et Science de Rhétorique*), a title clearly inspired by the reigning school of French poets, the Rhetoricians (*Grands Rhétoriqueurs*). With the change of language also came a change of form in which winning poems must be composed. We have noted previously the various forms that were in vogue in the period of the Gay Science. These old Provençal genres were replaced by the *ballade* and *chant royal.* Since the *vers* and *canso* were the traditional forms for which the main prize, the Violet, had been awarded, it is probable that these two survived longer than any of the others. At any rate, in 1513 (date of the beginning of the records in the *Livre Rouge*) we find that one of the prizes was awarded for a *vers* and the other two for *ballades.* In 1519, the next year in which the *Livre Rouge* contains a record all three of them were awarded for *ballades.* By that time the *ballade* had become recognized as the sole form in the awarding of prizes. No mention is made in the *Leys d'Amors,* the handbook of the earlier poets, of the *ballada* or *ballade.* In the poems of the Gay Science

work. The manuscript copy is a faithful and accurate transcription, line for line and page for page, of the original. The annotations which it contains are of a scholarly and illuminating character, and they have been of invaluable assistance to the writer in acquiring a comprehensive and appreciative knowledge of the records contained in the *Livre Rouge.*

that have come down to us, occur no poems designated by this name. A form of *balada* had been cultivated by the ancient Troubadours, but it had nothing in common with the *ballade* except that it had a refrain. The last extant poem of the Gay Science is of the year 1498. The use of the *ballade* evidently came into vogue in the Floral Games between this date and 1513. The life of the *ballade* in the contests of the Floral Games was comparatively short. As stated above, the winning poems of 1513 consisted of one *vers* and two *ballades*. By 1519 the *ballade*, evidently an importation from north France, had fully superseded the *vers*, and the transition to a north French form was then complete. But there soon came a struggle between the *ballade* and the *chant royal*. In 1539, the first year for which the winning poems are transcribed on the pages of the *Livre Rouge*, we find two poems, one of which is a *ballade* and the other a *chant royal*. By 1540, all of the winning poems are *chants royaux*, and while an occasional *ballade* is found in the records after that year, 1540 may be accepted as the date of the conquest of the *chant royal* over its rival. The year 1554 marks the introduction into the records of the *sonnet*, but at no time was a prize ever awarded for a poem of this genre. The inclusion of an occasional *sonnet* along with a winning *chant royal* shows that the poets of the Floral Games were in the habit of reading other than the conventional forms before the judges. In the course of time, the sonnet became the only one used in the *Essay*, an impromptu trial by which the merits of the various candidates were tested.[18] From

[18] The *Essay*, established in 1540, developed into a regular feature of the annual contests. In the year mentioned, owing to the fact that there were several candidates of apparently equal skill and merit, the judges had difficulty in coming to a decision. In order to determine the winners, they resorted to an impromptu test which they called *examen*. The device was resorted to again the following year, and was then called the *Essay*. Such tests became a regular practice, and the name *Essay* was adopted. By 1565 the practice arose of selecting a group of candidates, whose works were clearly superior, for the trial by *Essay*. This was done regardless of difficulty in selecting the winners, and the custom prevailed throughout the period (at least) covered by the *Livre Rouge*. The purpose of the *Essay* was to test the candidates' ability to compose verses on the spot. The aspiring poets were assigned a "last line" of poetry by the judges, as for example,

"La chaleur du soleil est la vie du monde,"

upon which they were to construct their verses. At first, the poems thus com-

1540, with the exception of a few *ballades* and an *oraison à Dieu* by which Jehan Flavin won the Violet in 1548, the *chant royal* is the sole form for which prizes are awarded. Étienne Pasquier in his *Recherches* (liv. vii) says:

"Vray que comme toutes choses se changent selon la diversité des temps, aussi apres que nostre Poësie françoise fut demeuree quelques longues annees en friche, on commença d'enter sur son vieux tige, certains nouueaux fruits auparauant incogneus à tous nos anciens Poëtes: Ce furent Chants Royaux, Ballades, & Rondeaux. Je mets en premier lieu le Chant Royal comme la plus digne piece de ceste nouuelle Poësie, & se faisait, ou en l'honneur de Dieu, ou de la Vierge sa mere, ou sur quelque autre grand argument, & non seulement la plus digne, mais aussi la plus penible. Et parce que depuis le regne de Henry deuxieme nous avons perdu l'vsage de ces trois pieces, ie vous en representeray icy le formulaire. Au Chant Royalle fatiste (ainsi nommerent-ils le Poëte d'vn mot François symbolizant auecques le Grec) estoit obligé de faire cinq onzaines en vers de dix syllabes, que nous appellons héroïques, & sur le modele de ce premier, falloit que

posed had to be in the form of a *quatrain, huitain,* or *dixain.* Later, when the *sonnet* had become popular in France, it was adopted, and soon became the sole form used in the *Essay.* In undergoing this trial, the poets were shut up under lock and key. While they were thus engaged, the judges and other officials partook of the banquet, which was a part of the annual program. While the banquet was still in progress, the poets were released, were brought into the presence of the judges in the banqueting hall, and there read the verses which they had just composed. The *Livre Rouge* does not contain any specimens of such verses, but the writer has been able to secure a transcription of one contained in a small collection of poems published as a *Triomphe* by Grégoire de Barutel, winner of the Eglantine in 1651:

SONNET DE L'ESSAY.

FRANCE, quoy que l'orgueil d'vn bany te menace,
Sçaches qu'il n'est plus temps de reprendre des pleurs,
Et que les immortels apres tant de douleurs
Vont te faire jouyr d'une longue bonace.

Tes plus fiers ennemis ont perdu leur audace,
La peur les a fletris de ses pasles couleurs,
Depuis que le Ciel sait epanoüir les Fleurs
Que le malheur fermoit dans le Haure de Grace.

Ces Illustres Captifs que la rigueur du fort
Auoit presque reduits à deux doigts de la mort,
Ont esté iustement deliurez d'esclavage.

Les Parlemens les ont rendus aux bons François,
Eun chacun d'eux peut crier à haute voix
Mes ennemis sur moy n'auront point d'auantage.

tous les autres tombassent en la mesme ordonnance qu'estoit la rime du premier, & fussent pareillement accolez mot pour mot du dernier vers, qu'ils appelloient le Refrain. Et en fin fermoient leur Chant Royal par cinq vers, qu'ils nommoient Renvoy, gardans la mesme reigle qu'aux autres, par lesquels, les addressant à Vn Prince, ils recapitulaoient en bref ce qu'ils auoient amplement discouru dedans le corps de leur Poëme."[19]

Noulet, in the introduction of his edition of the "*Joyas del gay saber,*"[20] says, in speaking of the earlier history of the Floral Games:

"It was necessary to remain true to the Catholic faith and to compose in pure *roman* (the ancient *langue d'oc* or *Provençal*). Then, the poets were to have in view only the quest of the *beau* and the *honnête,* and, in order to arrive at this result, to treat only religious subjects, or at least those bearing the imprint of a high moral character.[21] All that

[19] The *chant royal,* in its definitive form, had five stanzas and an *envoi.* Each stanza was composed of eleven lines, and the rhyme scheme of each was the same. The *envoi* of five lines repeated the rhyme scheme of the last five lines of the stanzas. The refrain was the last line of the first stanza repeated as the last line of each succeeding stanza, and as the last line of the *envoi.* In the poetry of the Floral Games, the lines were of ten syllables until the *Alexandrine* came into use, when the line of twelve syllables was substituted for that of ten. Also, in the Floral Games the *envoi* came to be known as the *allégorie,* an innovation of the poets of Toulouse. Because of the religious traditions connected with it, the *chant royal* stuck more closely to the original intention of the genre in the poetry of the Floral Games than elsewhere. This species of poem continued to be cultivated by the aspirants to honors until the College was transformed into an Academy in 1694. Among the statutes enacted for governing the Floral Games at the time of the transformation, is to be found the following statement: "The poems for which in earlier times prizes were given, being out of use, and the *chant royal,* which succeeded them, having been abandoned in recent years as a poetry too restrictive. . . ." The *chant royal* was cultivated by several of the great poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, passing out of vogue with La Fontaine. It was revived in the nineteenth century, and has been cultivated by several of the modern English poets, of whom one of the earliest was Edmond Gosse.

A useful study of the origin and nature of the *chant royal* is contained in Appendix III of Cohen's *The Ballade,* Columbia University Press, 1915.

[20] French = *Joies du gai savoir.*

[21] Les troubadours de la décadence partagaient leur talent entre la poésie profane et la poésie religieuse. L'école toulousaine alla plus loin; elle n'admet plus que cette dernière. L'amour de Dieu et surtout de la Vierge furent à peu près les seuls sentiments qu'il fût permis d'exprimer.—Joseph Anglade, *Las Leys d'Amors,* Toulouse, 1920, tome 4, p. 47.

appertained to profane love, and even that ideal love, cult of the knights and troubadours of the past, was severely interdicted, or rather the expression of this last sentiment was bestowed upon a single object, the Virgin Mary."

The poets of the College of Rhetoric were compelled to follow in the traditions of their predecessors of the Gay Science. From time to time the restrictions were renewed, as is intimated to us by numerous entries in the *Livre Rouge*. As late as 1573 the *Livre Rouge* contains an entry enjoining on the poets to present poems in praise of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints: "let the works they shall desire to recite and pronounce, be composed in honor and praise of God, of the holy and blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, saints (*sainctz et sainctes*) of paradise, and of Lady Clémence Ysaure of good memory."[22]

Toulouse had been the center of the Albigensian heresy, and after this had been wiped out through the conquest of the south by the king of France and the pope, the latter had determined to make Toulouse a stronghold of the Catholic faith. As a part of the plan to accomplish this, the university was founded and the Inquisition

[22] The *Livre Rouge* affords a good study of the evolution of the legend of Clémence Isaure, as the restorer of the Floral Games. This legend had its birth at the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, just at the moment of the transformation of the Gay Science into the College of Rhetoric. The controversy as to her real or imaginary existence lasted for several centuries, but scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have demonstrated conclusively that no such character ever existed. The *oraison* of Clémence Isaure is still pronounced at each annual meeting of the Floral Games, but the legendary patroness has become nothing more than a shadowy ideal of poetry. Beginning with the Latin poem in her honor read in the contest of 1534 by Étienne Dolet (at the time a student in the faculty of law at Toulouse), Dame Clémence became the inspiration of many of the young poets for several centuries. In the eighteenth century Florian made her the subject of his celebrated *romance, Estelle* (set to music by Cherubini). For interesting studies on Clémence Isaure see: Roschach, *Variations du roman de Clémence Isaure,* and *Les Avatars de Clémence Isaure,* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences* of Toulouse; also François de Gélis' splendid and complete treatment, *La Légende de Clémence Isaure,* in his *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux,* Toulouse, 1912. Among earlier writers on the subject see Catel, Lafaille, Ponsan, Dom Vaysette, Lagane, Dumège. The last was an ardent believer in the existence of Clémence Isaure. His views may be seen from articles in his *Biographie Toulousaine,* Michaud, 1823; and in his *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse.*

was instituted.[23] By the beginning of the fourteenth century Toulouse had been converted into an orthodox Catholic city, and it was under the influence of this reactionary religious impulse that the Floral Games had been established.

The most striking feature of the old Troubadour poetry was its treatment of the theme of love. The Troubadour conception of love was the outcome of the theory of knighthood or chivalry under the influence of mariolatry. In the eleventh century the worship of the Virgin Mary became widely popular; the reverence bestowed upon the Virgin was extended to womanhood in general, and as a vassal owed obedience to his feudal overlord, so did he owe service and devotion to his lady.[24] While the poetry of the Troubadours doubtless had its rise under religious influences, it was not a religious poetry. Not until towards the close of the thirteenth century did distinctly religious poetry begin to be cultivated in the south of France. Guiraut Riquier, known as "the last Troubadour,"[25] who died in the last decade of the thirteenth century, wrote distinctly religious verse. The founders of the Floral Games followed his example in writing on religious subjects, and so strong was the religious reaction of the times that the poets of the new school were in full revolt against the profane themes of the earlier Troubadours. By 1356, the year in which the *Leys d'Amors* appeared, the tradition had become fixed, and the *Leys d'Amors,* written as a grammar, rhetoric and poetic art, for the guidance of the *Fins Amants* (as the contestants were called)[26] laid down the rule that the poems presented for prizes should be of a distinctly religious import, in praise of God, the Virgin and the saints, or at least of a lofty moral nature. This last clause was a distinct hit at the old Troubadour poetry, which to the men of the fourteenth century seemed trivial with its endless variations of profane love.

[23] The Inquisition was not fully abolished at Toulouse until 1772. Its influence on the founders of the Gay Science may be seen by the following paragraph from the *Leys d'Amors* (édit. Anglade, t. II, p. 23).

"Errors es lo majors vicis de totz, quar es contra la fe catholica; per que hom ne deu recebre ni dar joya per dictat que parle de la santa theologia, en cas doptos, si donx la sentensa no era clara e manifesta, o aproada per l'Enqueridor."

[24] Chaytor: *The Troubadours,* p. 15.

[25] See the admirable book of Professor Joseph Anglade, of the University of Toulouse: *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier,* Paris, 1905.

Du Bellay, in his *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), counsels the young poets to leave such trifles as the *ballade* and *chant royal* to the Floral Games of Toulouse and the Puy of Rouen. That the poets of the Floral Games, in spite of the glorious efflorescence of classical forms of lyric poetry in the north during the sixteenth century, continued to cultivate exclusively the *chant royal* until at least 1641,[27] and for the most part if not exclusively until 1694[28] seems less strange when we consider the historical background. It must be borne in mind that the tradition of the Floral Games was more religious than poetic. Founded in the orthodox Catholic faith, the society maintained its religious traditions throughout the sixteenth century in spite of the bitter struggles of the period of the Reformation. That the religious revolution was felt within the society is proven by many entries in the *Livre Rouge*.[29]

[26] Provençal: Fis Aymans, Fin Ayman.

[27] The year in which the records of the *Livre Rouge* end.

[28] The year in which the College of Rhetoric became the Academy of the Floral Games.

[29] An entry in the *Livre Rouge* for the year 1563 reads as follows: "A esté remonstré par led. seigneur Coignard, la calamité du temps que se présentoit, tant de mort cruelle et hostille que de peste et famyne, et mesmes que aux envyrons ou bien près de lad. ville y avoit plusieurs assemblées ou moien de quoy se faisoient plusieurs incursions hostilles, que debvoit esmouvoir les assistans, faire cesser toutes assemblées et lettures publiques."

An entry of 1564 reads: "Semblablement est inhibé à toute qualité de gens de porter arnoiz à ladicte assemblée, contre les édicts du Roy, ne faire tumultes, noise, ne insolances, à peyne de prison et autre exemplaire."

In 1568 "feust dict et remonstré publiquement que attendu la calamité du temps, advenue pour raison des troubles qui sont en France, et mesmes en environs de ceste ville, au moien desquelz et que l'assemblée qui communément se faict de toute qualité de gens les premier et tiers jours de May ordonnés, pour ouyr prononcer les pohesmes et faire le jugement des fleurs, suivant l'institution de dame Clémence et coustume antienne, se pourroit en suivre quelque escandalle, par quoy avant faire la semonce acoustumée faicte, semblable jour, seroit expédient de traiter coment conviendra en user pour céder au temps."

1569: ". . . mais aussi sur l'élection du chancellier vichancellier et autres maincteneurs en lad. science, absans, fugitifs, mortz ou autrement condamnés."

An entry of 1571 has to do with Jean de Coras, who was the next year one of the victims of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew: "Ledict sieur Durant, maincteneur, a remonstré par messieurs les maincteneurs, cappitoulz bayles et M^rs^ [for *maîtres*], avoyr esté esleu à l'estat de maincteneur vaquant par

When the transition was made from the *langue d'oc* to the French, it was but natural that French forms should be adopted along with the language. The *ballade* and the *chant royal* were the two, and especially the latter, which best accorded with the traditions of the Gay Science. For this reason, the *chant royal* became eventually the sole form in which the winning poems were composed. But if the poets were compelled to conform to conventions in order to win the prizes, they were free to read poems before the judges constructed in any form and written in Latin, French, or in the native language. In 1534, Étienne Dolet presented ten poems written in Latin and of various genres. At early as May, 1551 a poet from Béarn, Bernard de Poey, at the time a student in the university, in all probability read odes in the presence of the judges. In 1554, a sonnet was included along with a winning *chant royal* in the records of the *Livre Rouge*. And, as above stated, the poets continued to read poems in the *langue d'oc* throughout the sixteenth century.

The precise moment of the transition from the Consistory of Gay Science to the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric is unknown; but the change took place between 1498 and the opening records of the *Livre Rouge*. As has already been said, the entries in the *Livre Rouge* begin with the year 1513, and that has been accepted as the date of the reorganization of the society. It is

l'absence de monsieur Me Jehan de Corras et parceque led. de Corras, conseiller en la court, au moyen de l'édict de pacification est remis en ses honneurs et dignités, déclaire n'entendre l'empescher aud. lieu de maincteneur ne aulcunement contrevenir à l'édict de pacification et pour le reguard de la réquisition faicte par led. scindic, il n'y peult oppiner." The record for 1572, on the very eve of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, has an intensely interesting entry with regard to Coras. Coras, who was a Protestant, refused to join the mainteneurs and capitouls in celebrating the mass, which, as usual, preceded the sittings of the officials of the Floral Games, but joined them afterwards. The record reads: ". . . led. de Coras absent et retiré, entrarent après lad. messe dicte dans le grand concistoire de lad. maison de ville, assistés aussi dud. de Coras. . . ." The record of 1573 speaks casually of the "decease" of Coras: "Et que a présent seroit advenu que ledict de Coras, en absence duquel il auroit esté esleu maincteneur en lad. année mil V^c^ LXIX, seroit décédé, a supplié la compagnie vouloir faire adviser. . . ." Jean de Coras was a brilliant humanist and occupied chairs of civil law in various universities of Italy and France. After the middle of the century he forsook the scholastic robe for the red robe of the parlement.

unfortunate that a Frédéric Mistral could not have appeared at the opening of the sixteenth century. If a strong, virile, patriotic writer had appeared at that time, the language and literature of the south might have been revived, and the subsequent history of the Floral Games would surely have been different. At any rate, it is to be regretted that the reorganization was not deferred until a half century later, when the Renaissance influences in France were in full swing. A reorganization at this later time would have had very vital consequences, and the influence of the Floral Games on the history of French literature would certainly have been far-reaching and noteworthy.

The reorganization of the Floral Games came just at the moment when the influence of the decadent Rhetoricians of the north had become widespread, infesting France like the plague.[30] The decay of the earlier epic literature of north France had paralleled that of the lyric Provençal literature of the south; and whereas the ancient Troubadours had been succeeded by the *Fins Amants* of the Consistory of Gay Science at Toulouse, the Trouvères of the north had found their successors in the poetic school of the Rhetoricians, and for two centuries poetry came to be known as Rhetoric.[31] The rules for the composition of poetry were multiplied, and numerous treatises for the guidance of aspiring poets were published, bearing frequently grandiose and fantastic titles, which are of themselves suggestive of the conception that men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had of poetry. The names of some of these treatises on poetic art are illuminating. Between the *Art de Dictier* of Eustache Deschamps in 1392 and the *Art poétique* of Thomas Sibilet in 1548, there is a long line of such manuals. The titles of a few of them are sufficient for illustration:[32] *Les règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* (1411–1432), *Le Doctrinal de la Seconde Rhétorique* (1432), *Traité de l'Art de Rhétorique* (between 1433 and 1466), Jean Molinet's *Art et Science de Rhétorique* (1493), *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhétorique* (1499); Pierre Fabri's *Grant et*

[30] Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française,* p. 182.

[31] Prose was called the art of First Rhetoric; and Poetry was known as the art of Second Rhetoric.

[32] See Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Littérature française,* for more complete information. Also Cohen's *The Ballade,* Columbia University Press, 1915.

Vraie Art de Pleine Rhétorique (1521), Gracien du Pont's *Art et Science de Rhetorique metrifiee* (1539 at Toulouse).

What is now generally known as the school of the Rhetoricians (*Grands Rhétoriqueurs*) was not a conscious and definite movement in literature, as for instance at later periods that of the Pléïade and that of the Romanticists, but was a gradual outgrowth corresponding to the decay of feudalism and the rise of the middle class which paralleled the literary changes in the south. In reviewing the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been seen that the earliest tendencies toward regarding literature as Rhetoric are to be found in Guillaume de Machault in the earlier fourteenth century, of whom Lanson says: "to him the honor of having revealed the secret of serpentine, equivocal, leonine, alternate or retrograde, sonant or consonant, rhymes." Although a mere name to-day, Machault was in the eyes of his own age a great poet. He was imitated by the English writers, among others Chaucer, and gave to English literature the heroic couplet. The most striking evidence of his popularity is the effect that he had on poetry. He was a musician in an age when music was much cultivated. "By devoting particular attention to the union of verse and music and the composition of songs he became largely responsible for the vogue of complicated metres in which poets began to delight, metres which became daily more involved until they culminated in the verbal atrocities of the *rhétoriqueurs* who carry into *belles-lettres* the *procédés* of the schoolmen. He, himself, for instance, took chief pride in the *lai* which was, if anything more complicated than the other metres. But the form which won chief favor was the *ballade,* as marked a feature of early poetry as the *sonnet* was of the later."[33] Of the influence of this school which found its ancestor in Machault, Lanson says:[34] "There will be no further change in things until the Renaissance. For almost two centuries the same genres will be cultivated: above all, the *ballade* will be the master form of poetry, cherished by the professional poets (Eustache Deschamps composes them in 1374), practiced by amateurs (the *Book of the Hundred Ballades* is the collective work of princes and lords of the court of Charles

[33] C. H. C. Wright: *A History of French Literature,* p. 112. Oxford University Press, 1912.

[34] Lanson: *Histoire de la Littérature française,* p. 144.

VI) : the *ballade* will be what the *sonnet* was in the decadence of the Renaissance before the maturing of the classic genius. . . . The name which is henceforth to be used of poetry, the name which depicts marvellously the poetry of two centuries, from Machault and Deschamps to Cretin and Molinet, which the fourteenth century adopts and perpetuates, that name is Rhetoric."

It is extremely difficult to appreciate at their true value the Rhetoricians. With the passing of feudal and chivalric ideals, there came a readjustment and reconstruction of society over the whole of France. The literary product of feudal society ceased to have a vital meaning, and, like the social order under whose influence it had been composed, it passed away. To meet the needs of the renewed society which gradually evolved between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, a new literature had formed, one which beyond doubt reflected the ideals and intellectual aspirations and needs of the public for which it had been written. In the old society intellectual ideals had been lacking. The literature which had been produced under its inspiration, while marvellous in its simplicity and the fidelity with which it depicted the spirit and manners of the age, was the product of an epoch intellectually uncultured. With the loosening of the bonds between overlord and vassal, with the growth of commerce and the rise of a middle class of importance, with the development of an office-holding class in the employ of the king, as for example the numerous officials of the seneschalty and the parlements, with the growing authority of the church over the minds of men, with the rise and development of the mediaeval universities, there had gradually come to be formed a wider range of interests, and it was the task of the Rhetoricians to produce a literature which would meet the needs of this new social order in the making. In order to understand just how well they performed their work, it would be necessary to have a complete understanding of the intellectual and spiritual forces of the age as represented by scholasticism. The literature of the Rhetorical school went hand in hand with scholasticism, and both became outworn and were cast aside. With the difference, however, that while certain phases of scholastic thought continued until the seventeenth century, Rhetoric suffered a complete breakdown early in the sixteenth century. At no time in the history of the world, perhaps, has the literature of an

age collapsed more completely and spectacularly than did that of France at this period. The sign of decadence was not that men ceased to write, but that writers greatly multiplied, and the quality of the product diminished in proportion to the increase. Letters lost their vitality, authors became mere imitators, and imitators of the eccentricities and worst features of their models; so that for more than a generation a veritable host of writers busied themselves with the composition of works that are now regarded as the most absurd, ridiculous, and fantastic ever produced. Critics in estimating the worth of the Rhetoricians have been too apt to judge them at their worst, and their condemnation has been severe. But that the Rhetoricians hold a definite place of importance in the history of French letters, there can be little, if any, doubt, and while the literature of France of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may not appeal to the modern world as much as that which preceded or followed it, neither do those centuries appeal to us to-day, in general, as much as the periods of chivalry and of the Renaissance. Two services, at least, were performed by the Rhetoricians which were to be of capital importance to the succeeding school of the Pléiade. Under their influence the audience for literature was greatly extended. Literature does not flourish without an audience any more than does the stage. In the second place, they kept alive and stimulated interest in antiquity. They misunderstood antiquity, but it attracted them nevertheless, and they gave voice to the notions that generally prevailed at that time concerning it. When Du Bellay and Ronsard began to write, they found an audience already formed and one already familiar after a fashion with the antiquity which they sought to revive and truthfully imitate. Had it not been for the work of the Rhetoricians, the gulf between the revived antiquity of the Renaissance and the people of France would have been much greater than it was. It is true that the knowledge which the Rhetoricians had of antiquity was practically confined to Rome. Greece was scarcely known to them. But the Renaissance, when it came, was a Latin Renaissance, and not until the seventeenth century did it become a widespread movement covering both Greece and Rome.[35]

[35] The most recent work on the development of French Classicism is Professor C. H. C. Wright's *French Classicism*, Harvard University Press, 1921.

If the decadent Rhetorical poetasters suffered from a poverty of thought, and if they debauched poetic art, their most unpardonable sin was against the language. Under their influence French verse became at times utterly unintelligible. The following lines are good illustrations of their writing at its worst:

In 1471 Jean Molinet addressed a letter in verse to one of his friends which is a queer macaronic mixture of French and Latin:

> . . . Si de meo statu petis,
> Perdus sommes grans et petis:
> Habuimus multa bella
> Depuis qu'Amiens se rebella . . . .

Étienne Pasquier, in his *Recherches,* notes the following:

> Iliades curae quae mala corde serunt,

which may be read in French,

> Il y a des curés qui mal accordés seront.

The fondness for alliteration is to be seen in the following lines from Jean Boucher:

> Françoys faitiz, francz, fors, fermes au fait,
> Fins, frais, de fer, feroces, sans frayeur . . .

Verse reached the stage of utter unintelligibility under the pen of André de la Vigne. In an invective against Atropos he indulges in the following:

> Tric, trac, troc, trop, trousselant, triquetroque,
> Trainc très terreux, trep de triquenoque,
> Traistre trousson, triquenique tribraque,
> Truye troussine, triquedondayne troque,
> Triste truande, triple trouble tibroque,
> Tresvil trect traict, traffigue tripliarque,
> Trace trouvée, tribullante trymarque . . .[36]

It was the debauching of the language which most of all caused

[36] The examples given are taken from Henry Guy's *Histoire de la poésie française au xvie siècle* (2 vols.), vol. i, *L'École des Rhétoriqueurs.* Paris, Champion, 1910.

the Rhetoricians to fall under the utter condemnation which was heaped upon them by the generation of the Renaissance; and yet, the Pléïade themselves were not able to steer clear of excess in language, and it was that more than anything else which caused such a violent turning from them in the seventeenth century.

The rhetorical tendencies in French literature reached a climax in the group of poets gathered around Marguerite of Austria in Flanders, in the court poets of Burgundy, and finally at the court of France under the protection of Anne of Brittany. At the dawn of the sixteenth century literature was still under the complete sway of mediaeval ideas. "The self-centered intellectual life of the fifteenth century had lacked critical taste or discernment. Learning was turgid and pedantic and by the end of the century all of the tendencies were towards involution and complication." This was the age of the last effete descendants of a long line of poets, the *grands rhétoriqueurs,* the chief of whom was Jean Molinet, official poet of the court of Burgundy. The poets of Burgundy gave the tone to the rhymesters of the other feudal courts. "Louis XI," says Lanson,[37] "was too *bourgeois,* too sensible, too positive, to fall in line with such nonsense. But after him, . . . The young Duchess Anne . . . attracted from all corners of the kingdom all the *grands, moyens, petits et tout petits rhétoriqueurs.* They infested the court of Charles VIII, then that of Louis XII, and in all ranks, and from all the provinces, they sprang up, each more devoid of sense and more extravagant in form than the other. The most endurable are those who have the least genius: their platitude condemns them to being intelligible, or almost so. . . ."

From the above, it will be clearly seen that the reorganization of the Gay Science into the College of Rhetoric corresponded precisely in point of time with the universal popularity of the decadent Rhetoricians. Charles VIII, while passing out of a dark gallery at the castle of Amboise, in April, 1498, struck his head against the top of a doorway so violently that he died a few hours afterwards. With him the direct line of Valois kings became extinct. He was succeeded by Louis, Duke of Orleans, who ascended the throne as Louis XII. The last record that has been preserved of the Con-

[37] Lanson, *op. cit.,* 181–183.

sistory of Gay Science is of 1498, the year of the death of Charles VIII. During the succeeding reign, the College of Rhetoric came into existence. Founded under a strongly orthodox religious influence, guided by the rules laid down in the *Leys d'Amors,* skilled in the composition of intricate rhymes and metrical devices, it can be easily seen that the cultivation of the genres in vogue among the Rhetoricians of the north could not have been an abrupt transition. At the close of the fifteenth century the reputation of Jean Molinet was at its height. In 1493 he had published his *Art et Science de Rhétorique.*[38] The very title of his book suggests that the reorganized society had derived its name from it. That it did derive it from Molinet's book is all the more probable when we consider that the *Fins Amants* had depended since 1356 upon the work of Guilhem Molinier, and that this guide to the composition of poetry had to be of necessity discarded when the change was made. Perhaps, in considering the reorganization of the Gay Science, the mainteneurs had adopted Molinet's book as the new guide for the poets, and its title for the new name of the society. Then the name Molinet. Is it not suggestive in itself? Molinet and Molinier, if not identical names with variant spelling for north and south France, respectively, are at least enough alike to have attracted the attention of the mainteneurs, and especially so, as Molinet, a prominent ecclesiastic, was the reigning poet of the northern school. So it is in all probability the Burgundian school of poets that we must regard as the direct inspiration of the poets of Toulouse after the decay of their own poetry. This view is further borne out by examining the products of the poets of Toulouse in the early sixteenth century. Although it is not until 1539 that any of the poems of the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric are transcribed on the pages of the *Livre Rouge,* information is not entirely lacking as to the character of the poems composed prior to that date for the annual contests. From the meager indications afforded by the *Livre Rouge,* we know that the *ballade* had come into use by 1513, and that it held sway until 1540. As has already been shown, the *ballade* was the favorite form of the poets of north France. While it is true that no poems bearing the name *ballade* have come down from the period of the

[38] For long ascribed to Henri de Croy.

Gay Science, there is in fact one poem of this genre which has been preserved under the name of *letra d'amors,* for which a poet by the name of Janilhac was awarded a prize in 1471. Janilhac was a Parisian and a student in the University of Toulouse. His poem was written in the native *langue d'oc,* and was awarded the prize, not, although so stated, because he could write in the native idiom, but because by writing in it he conformed to one of the established regulations of the Gay Science. One of the cardinal rules laid down in the early history of the society was that the poets should compose in the language native to Toulouse. If Janilhac conformed to the rules with respect to language, he did not meet the requirements with respect to form. The *ballade* was not an accepted form of the Gay Science, but the prize bestowed was a special one known as the *joya extraordinaria,* and the contest was not one held at the regular time (1–3 of May), but at Pentecost. Special prizes were sometimes awarded in response to a *citatio* or summons at other than the regular contests. On such occasions the mainteneurs sent out a letter in verse beginning: "De mandement de Messenhos Chancelier he Mantenidos (By order of the chancellor and the mainteneurs)" in which they advertised a contest at a given date, and assigned a refrain upon which the poets should compose their verses. Such a letter was sent out in August, 1468, inviting "all experts in the art of Rhetoric, vulgarly called the *Gay Saber,*"

> "A totz spertz en l'art de Rectorica
> Ha vulguarment apelat Saber Guay,"

to appear the next Sunday with poems constructed to the refrain: *Al cor me fier la Pera del enguoys* ("the choke-pear strikes me to the heart"), for which the winner should receive a branch *d'argent,* presumably a silver olive branch. Such contests were held in various places, and not confined to the town hall, as was the case with the regular contests.

The above quotation is the earliest reference to the poetry of the Floral Games as the Art of Rhetoric, "vulgarly called the *Saber Guay.*" From this reference and from Janilhac's *ballade,* we know the precise moment at which the influence of north France began to invade the Consistory of Gay Science. The transition,

therefore, from the Gay Science to Rhetoric was a gradual one, covering a period of not less than forty or fifty years. In the absence of concrete documents it is impossible to assert positively that the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric replaced Guilhem Molinier and his *Leys d'Amors* by Jean Molinet and his *Art et Science de Rhétorique,* but it is quite certain that the reorganized society was very strongly under the influence of the reigning school of poetry of north France. When once the influence of the Rhetoricians had entered, it was felt until the society was again reorganized in 1694 as the Academy of the Floral Games. The influence of the Rhetoricians may be divided into three periods: that of the *ballade,* that of the *chant royal,* modified gradually by the general ideas of the Renaissance and to a certain extent by the Pléiade; and lastly, the period when the *chant royal* undergoes very strongly the influence of the Pléiade, both in its content and in its language. The first of these extends from 1513 to 1540; the second from 1540 until the end of the century; and the third from that time until 1694. This division is made on the basis of the poems recorded in the *Livre Rouge* for which prizes were awarded. From the middle of the sixteenth century the poets were strongly swayed by the general ideas of the Renaissance and while the influence of the Pléiade was comparatively small before the close of the century, it was immediately felt by the poets at Toulouse. As has been previously stated, it is almost certain that Bernard de Poey read *odes* at the meeting of 1551. In this same year, not only he, but Pierre du Cèdre as well, composed *sonnets,* and in 1554 a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge* along with a winning *chant royal.* In 1555, Pierre de Ronsard was awarded an honorary prize by the mainteneurs. That the influence of the Pléiade on the poems for which prizes were awarded was not at once felt, was due to the conventional restrictions placed upon the competing poets.

The chief representatives of the period before 1540 were Blaise d'Auriol and Gracien du Pont.[39] Each of them occupied a prominent place at Toulouse in an official capacity and as writers. The former became chancellor of the university and was the author of a work which enjoyed a wide popularity, known as *La Chasse et*

[39] See part iii for fuller account of both.

le départ d'amour, in part a plagiarism of Charles d'Orléans and partly his own composition. He was the first native of Toulouse to compose poetry in French. He was a wretched poet, but no worse than a horde of Rhetorician poets of north France who were his contemporaries. The *Livre Rouge* shows that he was a *maître* (master) of the Floral Games in 1513, after having won all three of the prizes. He was a mainteneur from about 1522 until 1540. Gracien du Pont was the lieutenant of the seneschalty at Toulouse and mainteneur of the Floral Games from 153– to 1545. He was the author of a work called *Les Controverses des sexes Masculin et Femenin,* in which he dealt disparagingly with women. Such works had been common among the Rhetoricians of north France since the days of Jean de Meung. He was also the author of an *Art and Science of Rhetoric* (*Art et Science de Rhetorique metrifiee*), in which "he explained every conceivable form of rhythmical puerility."[40] This work, published at Toulouse in 1539, was based upon the book of Pierre Fabri,[41] published at Rouen in 1522, which in its turn was composed entirely in accord with the practice of the Rhetoricians.[42]

The Poetry of the Livre Rouge.

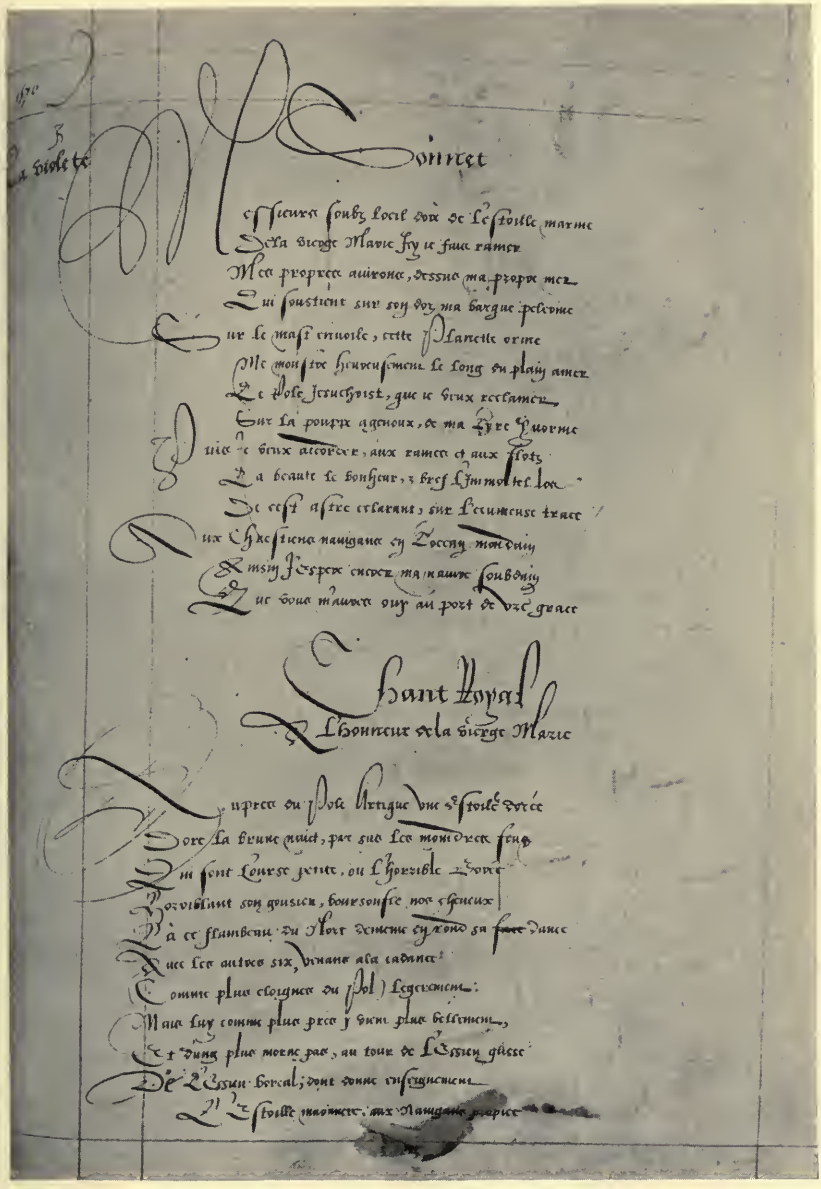
While winning poems were not transcribed in the *Livre Rouge* before 1539, there is sufficient information in the records to enable us to determine the nature of them. In 1513, Hugues Roguier won the *Gauch* (*Souci*) or Marigold for a ballade in the *langue d'oc.* This seems to have been the last time that a prize was awarded for a poem in the native language.[43] The Violet was awarded to a stu-

[40] Tilley: *The Literature of the French Renaissance,* vol. i, p. 69. See also, Cohen: *The Ballade,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1915.

[41] For the influence of Guilhem Molinier's *Leys d'Amors* on the book of Gracien du Pont, see Joseph Anglade's edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* tome 4, p. 119. Toulouse, 1920.

[42] The title of Fabri's book is: *Le grand et vray art de pleine Rhetorique.* It was reprinted at Rouen in two vols. in 1889–1890, with notes by A. Heron, for the Société des bibliophiles normands. It was composed, no doubt, under the inspiration of the Puy of Rouen. Since Gracien du Pont's book at Toulouse was based mainly on this work, and no doubt had some influence on the southern poets, there is probably found here a connecting link between the two societies.

[43] While no poems composed in the language of the South were awarded prizes during the period covered by the *Livre Rouge* (1513–1641), it was not



Facsimile of folio 252 r° of the Livre Rouge (Vol. I.); date 1570. Bibliothèque des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse.

dent, Jacques Sapientis, for a *ballade unisonant et entrelassée,* upon the *blason* of the counts of Toulouse. From 1514 to 1518, the records are wanting. In 1519, Jean de Villeneuve was awarded the Marigold for an *oraison de Notre Dame* in the form of a *ballade.* Jehan de Vignes, a priest, won the Eglantine for a *ballade unisonante* in praise of Saint Sebastian; and the Violet was won by Jehan Pérot student, for a *ballade* on the university of Toulouse. The refrain of his poem,

"Le dieu Phœbus est venu d'Ylion,"

shows a fondness for parading classical names, one of the marked characteristics of the Rhetoricians. The next record (1535) is taken up with a quarrel between the mainteneurs and the capitouls[44] over the election of a chancellor, and no mention is made of the contest. The next is that of 1539, the time when the winning poems began to be inscribed in the *Livre Rouge.* Of the two poems recorded, one is a *chant royal* by Pierre Trassabot, a native of Toulouse who acquired considerable reputation as a musician, painter and sculptor. This is the first *chant royal* of which there is any record, and may have been the first for which a prize was awarded in the Floral Games. The theme, that life is a constant struggle, is commonplace, and the refrain reflects the Rhetoricians' liking for sententious or proverbial sayings:[45]

"Que vye humaine a icy tousjours guerre."

The poet injects into his composition a certain imagery and portrays faithfully enough the life of the soldier of his day as well as the longing for peace and the hopes aroused over the prospect of it; the disillusionment that comes as other ills spring up to take the place of war; the cold, the heat, the storms, and all the things that beset man on his journey through this world.

long after this period that Grégoire de Barutel in 1651 won the Eglantine for a *chant royal* composed in the Gascon dialect (see p. 12). This was no doubt an exceptional case. The practice of awarding prizes for poems in Provençal was revived only in the later nineteenth century, and at present they have their regular place in the annual competition for prizes.

[44] The capitouls, or city fathers, participated in the Floral Games as representatives of the city, which furnished the funds to pay for the annual prizes.

[45] "La façon dont les rhétoriqueurs concevaient la morale les conduisait nécessairement a l'exprimer en proverbes. . . ."—Henry Guy: *op. cit.,* p. 68.

The ballade for which Hector du Pertuiz won the Violet shows the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* in its personification of Melancholy, War, Death, etc.

"Fuyez chagrin, chassez mélancolye,"

says the poet, as he proceeds with a banal pæan of praise in honor of his sovereign, whom it would be impossible to recognize if we did not know that Francis I was reigning at the time.

With 1540, begins the sway of the *chant royal.* In that year all of the winning poems were of this genre, and, as has already been stated, with few exceptions the *chant royal* will hold undisputed sway in the Floral Games until the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, the content and spirit of the winning poems will be determined by the models of the Rhetoricians. Not that no influence will be exerted by the new spirit of the Renaissance as represented by the Pléiade, but that this influence is comparatively limited before the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, Pléiade influences will alter profoundly the content and spirit of many of the winning poems, but the form remains and the general conception of the *chant royal* lingers. In the sixteenth century it is the general ideas of the Renaissance, especially philosophy and science that attract the young poets, and their influence overshadows that of the Pléiade. Aside from the thought, the greatest innovations of the sixteenth century are, perhaps, the change from the verse of *ten* syllables to the *alexandrin* (in 1556), and the introduction of certain words and turns of expression characteristic of the Pléiade. In their language the poets of the Floral Games are not imitators of the effete Rhetoricians. French is a foreign language to many of them, and their works display the crudeness that accompanies the effort to write in a foreign tongue, but they have a respect for the language that was not possessed by the later Rhetoricians. Their attempts to express in French abstract and philosophical ideas which they have but poorly digested, often leads them into absurd turns of expression and grotesque figures of speech, but one is impressed by the seriousness with which the poets approach their task. With the progress of time, the language of the poets improves, and in the winning poems of the seventeenth century we see a

gradual approach toward perfection; many of the poems containing lines and passages worthy of the great poets.

At the hands of the poets of the Floral Games, the *chant royal* becomes an instrument for the portrayal of allegory to the extent that the *envoi* loses its name and is succeeded by the word *allégorie.* Had the allegorical features of the poems been introduced in a skilful and natural manner, the poems that have been preserved in the *Livre Rouge* might stand as monuments of allegorical literature. But the reader after wading through five strophes in which are paraded names belonging to ancient mythology is suddenly startled, when he reaches the *envoi* or *allégorie,* to discover that Jupiter is God, that Apollo is Jesus, and that Daphne is the Virgin Mary. As was the case with their models, the poets of Toulouse had an artificial conception of allegory. Whatever of vitality there had been in the allegorical treatment of literary themes had long since passed away. For the poets of Toulouse, antiquity presents the same sort of fascination that it did for their models of the north; nor do the former understand the ancient world any better than the latter. The difference between the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade is that while the former knew *about* antiquity, the latter *knew* it. Like the Rhetoricians, the poets of the Floral Games have a fondness for parading their knowledge. Under their pens long enumerations are made of the heroes of antiquity: heroes and heroines of mythology, great writers, characters from history. The occult sciences, astrology and alchemy, have an irresistible charm. Abstruse questions of philosophy attract these student poets as the flame does the moth. The burning questions of the times hardly disturb them at all. But for an occasional poem on the reigning sovereign or the dauphin, there is scarcely any portrayal of the times in approximately three hundred *chants royaux* recorded in the *Livre Rouge,* covering a period of a hundred years, the period which witnessed the struggles of humanism and the Reformation, and in the political realm the growth of France into an absolute monarchy under the strong hand of Richelieu.

A survey of a few of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge* will furnish the key to the contents as a whole. By 1540, as already stated, all of the winning poems were *chants royaux.* In that year

a young poet, Corrière, celebrates a shepherd guarding his flocks in a "sumptuous valley." In the *envoi* we are told that the shepherd is God, the flock is human nature, the lamb is the Saviour, and the sheep, the Virgin. Claude Terlon[46] depicts the passion of our Lord. Apollo is Jesus, Daphne is his body born in chastity. Jehan Rus, of Bordeaux, celebrates "l'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle." This marvellous tree, situated "towards Greece," has a powerful attraction:

> De toutes partz, pour ce boys à grand presse
> Vous eussiez veu gens venir et aller.[47]

The Grand Turk appears to mar the perfect bliss and happiness of the scene. The tree is Jesus, the Grand Turk is the Devil.

> Qui fist mourir (au moings comme il pensoit)
> *L'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle.*

In 1541, Pierre du Cèdre, who was to play a leading part as a Huguenot in the religious troubles at Toulouse in the second half of the century, celebrated the excellence of Poetry in crude verses in which he enumerated a list of names from the Bible and from Greek and Roman antiquity: Moses, David, Orpheus, Museus, the Sybil, Lynus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, concluding his argument with the refrain:

> "Laurier sans feuille et sans loz bon poète."

Mercadier de Besse wrestles with the "Cognition de la chose divine." In 1543 Pierre Pascal introduces us to another wonderful tree, this time the marvellous tree is "towards Judea," and is a tree

> "Que[48] l'homme rend à jamais bien heureux."

In 1544, Étienne Forcatel,[49] who later was selected as professor of

[46] Also spelled = Trellon.

[47] Some of the poems cited have been previously printed, but many are here published for the first time.

[48] Should be *qui*.

[49] In the *Livre Rouge*, he signs his name thus, but it has usually appeared in print as *Forcadel*.

[50] Known as the Father of Modern Law.

law in the university for the chair for which Cujas[50] had entered into competition, began an unintelligible philosophical poem:

> "Démagorgon, le grand père des dieux,
> Sortit du creux de l'abisme du monde. . . ."

In 1548, Anthoine Noguier, who wrote in Latin a well known history of Toulouse is obsessed with the idea of primal causes, the remoteness of which he seeks to impress upon the reader by the repetition of the word "avant:"

> "Avant le poix, avant nombre et mesure,
> Avant Chaos et, son encombrement,
> Avant le cours de Phœbus qui mesure
> Les chaudz et froidz sentiers obliquement,
> Avant que fust du monde la machine,
> Avant la mer et son ample piscine,
> Avant que feust le Centre mesuré,
> L'idée estoit sans fin nulle et naissance
> Et contenoit en son sein azuré
> *Ung tout en trois d'une mesmes essence.*"

From the *allégorie* we learn that the "tout en trois" is the Trinity.

In 1549, Hélie Boyresse's vision is dazzled by a green tree, "pleasant and delectable;" from the refrain we learn that it is

> "La verte olyve en ce monde honnorée."

and from the Envoi, the son of God "fruict sortant de la pucelle." In the same year Mathieu de Chalvet, afterwards first president of the parlement of Toulouse, and translator of Seneca, carried his audience into a "cloz delicieulx" to witness

> "Le seul Phénix, se tuant pour renaistre."

In 1550, Jehan de Flavyn has an eye single to

> "Le poinct parfaict dont deppend tout le monde."

In 1551, Pierre de Sainct Aignan celebrates

> "La nef flottant pour le salut du monde."

In 1554, an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard,[51] and for the first time a *sonnet* appeared upon the records of the *Livre Rouge,* not as a winning poem, but accompanying a *ballade,* for which Sanxon de la Croix, *escollier,* was awarded the Violet. Since the *ballade* had practically ceased to be a form of the Floral Games, we are led to suspect that the judges were influenced in their decision by the *sonnet*:

"Chantez, mes vers, entonnez un tel son
Que vous puissiez plaire aux doctes oreilles,
Et toy, mon luth, fredonne les merveilles
De l'Éternel, en ta doulce chanson.

Tu as apriz de Phébus ta leçon,
Ces chantz secretz et choses nonpareilles
Et pourquoy donc est-ce que tu sommeilles,
Te congnoissant des Muses nourrisson?

Fay moy parler tes résonnantes cordes
Le loz divin que sur elles accordes,
Et charge-moy sur tes chansons de miel,

Afin qu'estant sur leur eschigne forte,
Je puisse ung jour aller frapper la porte
Du temple sainct qu'ont les Muses au ciel."

A few sonnets aside, the first sustained breath of the Renaissance is to be found in a hymn on the Nativity, a poem of almost a hundred lines in *alexandrins,* which Loys du Pin inserted, along with a conventional *chant royal,* in 1569:

"Sus! laissés voz brebis et voz troupeaulx de bestes;
Accourés tous ensemble aveques voz musètes,
Prenez, voz chalumeaux et d'un son gracieux
Chantés et rechantés chascun à qui mieulx mieulx,
Car c'est à ceste nuict que le filz du grand père
Est sorty des liens du ventre de sa mère.
Sus donc! despechés vous, en Bethléem courés,
Où sur ung peu de foin l'enfant vous troeuverés."

The poets of the Floral Games of the sixteenth century have a

[51] An honorary prize was awarded to Baïf in 1586.

fondness for miraculous trees and paradisiacal gardens. François de Chalvet succeeds in giving an atmosphere of actuality to such threadbare themes when he introduces us to

"Le jardin fleurissant sur les bordz de Garonne."

The "chaste pucelle" who graces it with her presence is Clémence Ysaure, "les grand dieux" are the capitouls, and the flowers that adorn it are the Violet, Eglantine and Marigold of the Floral Games. The poem is grotesque; but perhaps the most sublimely ridiculous poem in the whole collection is one by which the same writer won his third prize, the Eglantine, in 1581. The refrain indicates the nature of the poem:

"L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."

The *œuvre* is the philosophical egg,

"C'est l'œuf philosophal dans lequel on proiète
Durant trois mois triplés nostre pierre secrète."

In 1577, Jehan Sevestre, a Parisian, presented a *chant royal* and won the Eglantine. His poem in honor of the holy and sacred Trinity, the poet calls a *chant royal monocole, dédocastrophe, intercalaire, acrostiche.* He calls the first strophe *Proode,* the second *Strophe,* the third *Mésode,* the fourth *Antistrophe,* the fifth *Epode,* and the *envoi, Epirrhème.* Thus, in this poem are blended ill-digested ideas of the Rhetoricians and the Pléïade. For all the poet's pretensions, the poem does not differ from the other *chants royaux* except that it is an acrostic and instead of being *monocle,* perfectly homogeneous, as the author claims, is perhaps more incoherent than the majority of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge.* The first letters of the lines of the first strophe spell the poet's name. Those of the second strophe tell that he is "Parisien," and the first lines of the remaining strophes announce the subject of the poem: "En l'honneur de la saincte et sacrée Trinité." The first strophe illustrates sufficiently the *chant royal* as a whole:

"*J*e chanteray l'honneur souverain de nature,
*A*près Pythagoras, montant dessus les cieux,
N'ayant encore aucun frayé cest' adventure,

*S*ur le plus hault esprit j'esleveray mes yeux.
*E*n l'unité on voit l'origine première
*V*n principe comun de toute la matière
*E*t de la forme ornant cest univers parfaict;
*T*oute loy tend à un, ainsi qu'un a tout faict,
*R*etourne tout en un, començant un en nombre
*E*t finist on en un, car tout faict et refaict
L'unité divisant et unissant tout nombre."

The poet's belief in the virtue of numbers is a reminiscence of the Pythagorean philosophy which was reduced by the schoolmen of the middle ages to abstract formulas. To certain numbers, such as 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10, marvellous powers or properties were attributed, From the time of Dhuoda, who wrote in Latin in the ninth century, to go back no further, down through the middle ages, the science of numbers had attracted writers. Frequently the poets of the Floral Games enveloped their poems in the mystery and allegory of numbers.

"Le trois, nombre sacré, moulle de toute essence."

"Le rond qui du quadrangle est le centre immobile."

"Les trois angles esgaulx du parfait isoplure."

"Le rond qui de trois ronds est le centre immobile."

Excursions into physics, chemistry, or medicine, give such lines as:

"L'aymant qui donne vie au métal insensible."

"L'eau fort qui des métaux divise la substance."

"Le simple distillé dans le bain de Marie."

"Le corail destruisant le charme des sorcières."

"Les effets merveilleux de l'eau de jalousie."

In their wide interest in knowledge, in their boldness in approaching the most abstruse questions of philosophy, astrology, alchemy, astronomy, physics, medicine, chemistry, or what not, the poets of the second half of the sixteenth century at Toulouse are of the Renaissance. They represent the natural development of the tenden-

cies of the Rhetoricians modified by the new spirit. By comparing them with the Pléiade, it is easy to see what a profound revolution was worked in French poetry by Du Bellay, Ronsard, Desportes, and other members of the group. The following lines, most of them refrains, will give some notion of the variety of the topics which these riders of an unruly Pegasus undertook to treat:[52]

1552. "La ronde sphère à son centre fondée."
1553. "Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."
1554. "Les deux liqueurs arrosans tout le monde."
1558. "L'esprit universel infuz en ce bas monde."
1559. "La pure et simple forme exempte de nature."
1560. "Les formes qui sans forme ont formé la machine."
1561. "L'astre qui plus reluict au zodiaque oblique."
1562. "L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
1564. "L'eschelle qui conjoinct la terre avec les cieux."
"La lune du soleil empruntant la lumiere."
1567. "La clarté flamboiant dans la lampe éternelle."
1569. "L'accord entretenant le ciel, la terre et l'onde."
1570. "L'estoille marinière aux navigans propice."
1573. "La matière aspirant à la forme parfaicte."
1573. "L'âme vivifiant ce que le ciel enserre."
1577. "L'estoile par l'escler du soleil redorée."
1579. "Les trois poinctz rapportés en la ligne écliptique."
1581. "L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."
1584. "Les discors accordés d'éternelle discorde."
1586. "Le cristal honorant la fontaine de vie."
1586. "Le luth qui remplist tout d'une saincte harmonie."
1589. "Le triangle accompli de trois lignes esgalles."
"Astrologue subtil, qui as la cognoissance,
De maintz évenements que tu vas prédisant."
1590. "Le charme qui nous lie à l'amour éternelle."
1591. "Je suis grand alchimiste et qui de la nature
Recherche curieux les plus rares secretz."
1593. "L'esprit, l'âme et le cors de la pierre alchimique."
1596. "La navire bruslée au miroir d'Archimède."

[52] Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, has recently written an article upon the humanistic tendencies of the poets of the Floral Games. See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouse*, 1919: *Les Poètes humanistes des Jeux Floraux.*

1598. "Du bel astre argenté la lumière éclipsée."
1600. "La Colure marquant l'un et l'autre solstice."
1602. "Les sept astres puyssants qui esclairent le monde."
1604. "La verge descouvrant les richesses du monde."
1604. "Les douze astres bornans du soleil la carrière."
1613. "Le diamant brizé par ung coup de tonnerre."
1614. "Le ruisseau qui résoult les pierres endurcies."
1615. "Le néant devenu de l'infini capable."

Let it be recalled that the purpose of the poems, as reiterated again and again in the pages of the *Livre Rouge,* was to glorify God, the Virgin, and the saints. The effect of the Rhetorician influence and of the paganizing influence of the Renaissance was to deflect the poems from the stated purpose. The semblance of a religious import or intention was preserved by explaining in the *envoi* or *allégorie* that the things treated in the poem were symbolical, and had some religious or moral significance which the poet proceeds to indicate.

The fondness for the occult sciences on the part of the Toulouse poets was probably due to the impetus which they had received in France at the opening of the century. Cornelius Agrippa had lived for some time in Lyons. Other mediaeval scientists were there also, as for example, Simon de Pharès, whom Charles VIII visited in 1495, and an Italian who boasted of transmuting baser metals into gold. The celebrated Nostradamus lived in Provence in the earlier sixteenth century, and Julius Caesar Scaliger lived at Agen, not far from Toulouse.[53]

While influences of the Pléiade are not entirely wanting in the poems of the Floral Games in the sixteenth century, it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth that the Pléiade influence makes a sufficient impression to materially improve the poetic quality of the chant royal. In 1601, Paul du May, a young poet of Toulouse, won the Eglantine for a poem which shows a wide departure from the preceding poets.

"C'estoit en la saison que l'aisle peinturée
De Zéphir esvantoit maint fleuron gracieux,
Dont le nouveau printemps rend sa flore pourprée,

[53] For a good account of Scaliger, see Christie, *Étienne Dolet.*

Descouvrant cest esmail qui décore les cieux,
Quand je vis ces thrésors dont la vermeille aurore
A la pointe du jour son visaige redore.
Et le tige amoureux du soucy blondissant
Qui baisoit le beau tainct de l'œilhet rougissant;
Admirant la beauté de sa fleur nompareille
Le soleil entr'ouvrist mes yeux esblouissant
Les lis d'or embrassans la fleur de lis vermeille."

This poem, on the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Médicis and the arms or *blasons* of the two families, is conceived more nearly in the manner of the Pléiade than any of the poems, perhaps, that had preceded it. In this same year, a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge,* which is of interest as showing the influence of Desportes:

"Et quoi, mon cher souci, serez-vous toujours telle?
Aimez-vous toujours à me faire mourir?
Ha! que le Ciel fist mal de vous former si belle
Et de tant de beaux dons vostre esprit favorir!

Mais bien, si tant vous plaist, une mort bien cruelle
Bornera mes tourmens, sans guères plus souffrir,
Puisque par trait de temps mon service fidelle
N'a sçu de vos beaux yeux la rigueur amoindrir!

Ainsi parloit Philon, aiant l'âme blessée
Des beaux yeux ennemis de sa belle Dircée,
Trop beaux et trop cruelz à ses contentemens.

Mais enfin ce berger, après tant de souffrances,
Comme un ruzé soldat, il a donné dedans,
Aiant par son discours abbattu les déffences."

In 1618, Jean Allard, of Mirapoix, was awarded the Eglantine for a *chant royal,* "à l'imitation des tableaux de Philostrate." This poem presents a curious blending of pagan sensuality and Christian morality:

"Voyés son sein de neige où mesmes dans la glace
Amour nourrit ses feux et garde son flambeau;
Sur ces deux petits monts quelquefois il prend place

Et ressemble Apollon sur le double coupeau.
Son col dessur l'yvoire emporte l'avantage,
Mais l'art de la nature est plus grand au visage,
Les lys y sont meslés d'un beau teint de pudeur,
La rose est sur sa bouche, au dedans son odeur,
Et Zéphire amoureux d'une si doulce haleine,
Baise sans estre veu, tout pasmé de douceur
Susanne qui se lave au bord de la fontaine.

In the *reddition de l'allégorie* we learn that Suzanne is the soul of the sinner.

The poem which is perhaps the best sustained throughout and which presents the most vivid imagery is that of Bernard d'Aliès, of Toulouse, Doctor of Theology, for which the Violet was awarded in 1623:

CHANT ROYAL.

POUR UNE DESCRIPTION D'UN POURTRAIT DE SAINCTE MAGDELAINE.

Quel est ce beau pourtrait? Seroit-ce Magdelene?
Mais pourquoy les couleurs l'ont peinte sans couleur?
Elle qui parloit tant, va souspirant à peine,
Elle qui rioit tant est pleine de doleur.
Ses yeux qui les espritz rengeoient sous le servage,
S'abaissent soubs la Croix et luy rendent homage.
Ses mains, filles d'honeur, qui soignent sa beauté,
En conspirent la perte avec sa cruaulté.
Elle ravissoit tout, elle est touste ravie.
Non, sans doubte, voilà, foulant la vanité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Elle est là de son long, sur l'herbe, la mondaine,
Ainsin l'orage abat une nouvelle fleur
Qui rehaussoit l'honneur et le pris d'une plaine,
Et luy couvre son tainct d'un voile de palleur.
Mille amours de ses yeux fuient à vol, à nage,
Les petitz-filz des eaux craignent-ilz le naufrage?
Sur ce front, près des yeux, quelqu'un en est monté,
Dans son sein, sur deux montz, les pleurs en ont porté,

Qui deçà, qui delà, quelque route a suivie,
Abandonant au deuil, en ceste extrémité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Ce corail animé par où sort son haleine
Dans la mer de ses pleurs a laissé la rougeur;
Les roses et les lis dont sa face estoit plaine,
N'ont gardé que l'espine en noyant la fraîcheur.
Ses cheveux tout mouillés s'attachent au visage,
Leurs nœuds sont relâchés et leur foible cordage
Où tant et tant de cœurs perdoient la liberté,
Ne les retiennent plus dans la captivité.
Son sexe à sa beauté ne porte plus envie,
De tous ses dous appas les plus dous ont quitté
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Telle se lamentant on pourroit peindre Hélène,
Quand le Grec d'Ilion demeura le vainceur,
Si l'on ne sçavoit pas qu'elle estoit toutte vaine,
Que les pleurs de ses yeux n'estoient pas ceux du cœur!
Mais regardés la nostre avec quel fort courage
Pour l'amour de son Dieu son beau corps elle outrage!
On diroit que son bras n'est jamais arresté,
Qu'un coup à l'autre coup est tousjours adjousté,
Et ny lasse jamais, ny jamais assouvie,
Extrême on voit tousjours, en son austérité,
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

Elle mesle son sang à ses pleurs, l'inhumaine,
Son âme seullement conserve sa blancheur.
Un ruisseau de son sang coule de chasque veine,
Elle veut y noyer son crime et son erreur.
Son Dieu qui pend en croix sur le hault de l'ouvrage,
Semble de son amour lui rendre tesmoignage.
Voyés! elle se veut cacher en son costé
Et son esprit de zelle et d'ardeur transporté,
D'y faire sa demeure à jamais la convie,
Logeant dans le séjour de la félicité
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

REDDITION D'ALLÉGORIE.

Une âme qui cognoist le seigneur yrrité,
Qui demande pardon à sa divinité,
Rendant sa volonté soubs ses lois asservie,
Elle est dans ce pourtrait, cerchant (*sic*) l'éternité
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.[54]

Not often do the poets of the College of Rhetoric strike a personal note. There are, however, some cases:

J'estois près d'ung ruisseau dont les ondes sucrées
Arrousoient de nectar les campaignes sacrées.

J'eslève mon esprit vers la voûte azurée,
Pour chanter la bonté des secourables dieux.

Master Bertrand Larade shows himself a true Gascon:[55]

Une nouvelle ardeur eschauffe mon courage
Et l'anime si fort qu'il se treuve emporté
Du dézir violant d'entreprendre ung ouvrage
Qui puisse faire ung jour, honte à l'antiquité.

Infrequently, the poets attempt to portray external nature. The following lines from Catel,[56] 1617, illustrate the ability of the young poets to deal with nature:

Les pluies, les frimas, la glace et la gelée,
La neige et la rigeur d'un hyver ocieux
Aux bruslantes chaleurs esgalement meslée,

[54] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 271. Published as a whole for the first time.

[55] Bertrand de Larade was born in 1581 at Montréjeau. He became a poet and made his reputation by *La Muse gasconne* which he composed in 1607. This volume is made up of pastorals, chansons, odes and sonnets. In his *Histoire littéraire des patois*, Dr. Noulet represents him as a poet of little originality but of pleasing naïveté. In 1910 a commemorative tablet was placed upon the house which he had inhabited at Montréjeau, accompanied by eulogies in verse and prose, the most excessive of which characterised him as the Homer of Languedoc. The different editions of his works are: *La Margalide gasconne* (1604), *La Muse gasconne* (1607), *La Muse piranese* (1609). All three were printed at Toulouse by Colomiès.

[56] Charles Catel, whom Dumège affirms, but without furnishing proofs, to have belonged to the family of the well-known historian, author of *Les Comtes de Toulouse*.

Nous donent maintenant ung printemps gracieux,
Le soleil nous aproche et la terre plus belle,
Tapissée de fleurs, met sa robe nouvelle.
Tout rit à ce beau May, les petitz amoreaux
Dansent folastrement sur le bord des ruisseaux.
Et Zéphir qui fléchit soubz leur obéissance
Faict esclorre parmi la verdure des préaux
La fleur qui rend l'odeur au point de sa naissance.

The later Greek influence of the Renaissance which reached its most perfect expression in Racine, was felt at Toulouse. A strophe from a *chant royal* for which Bernard Boyssonade was awarded the Marigold in 1640, will be sufficient to illustrate the poet's ability in handling a Greek subject:

POLIXÈNE.

Ilion n'estoit plus; desjà toute la Grèce
Songe à recevoir ces filz ou ces pères absans,
Lorsque la terre s'ouvre au milieu de la presse;
On oit de bruits confus et de cris languissans;
Achille en sort et dit: "Race lâche et maudite,
"S'il te souvient encor de mon peu de mérite,
"Que Polixene meure! En cela seullement
"Rends un juste devoir à mon ressentiment.
"Elle verra mon sang pour le sang de Troïle,
"Dois-je pas veoir aussy, pour mon soulagement,
"*Polixene immolée au sépulchre d'Achille?*"

The *Livre Rouge* contains several poems of more or less historical interest. Among them is one on the crowning of Louis XIII at Rheims:[57]

Les François, dans l'excès d'une joye incroiable,
Alumoint mille feus par touts les carrefours;
On n'oyoit dedans Reyms qu'un meslange agréable
De leurs chantz d'alégresse et du son des tambours;
Le pavé parsemé d'une moisson fleurie
Paroissoit soubs leurs pas une belle prairie;
Un ciel de drap, tendu pour la solempnité,

[57] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 325, v°. Hitherto unpublished.

Déroboit à leurs yeux le ciel plain de clarté,
D'où pour nouveau subject de leur resjouissance
Venoint en ce moment à leur prince indompté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Le devant des maisons, à ce jour mémorable,
Effaçoit tout l'éclat des plus superbes Cours,
Il ne paroissoit plus à soy mesme semblable,
Revestu de drap d'or, de pourpre et de velours;
Les festons, les tableaux et la tapisserie
Changeoient la moindre rue en riche galerie,
Chaque place sembloit un palais enchanté
Tant elle avoit de pompe et de diversité,
Lorsque, pour acomplir ceste magnificence
On vit reluire en l'air, plain de sérénité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Louis sortoit alors de ce temple admirable
Où son cœur abjura ses dieux foibles et sourds
Pour celuy qu'il avoit épreuvé secourable,
Sy tost qu'à sa puissance il avoit eu recours;
Ses précieux habits brilhoient de broderie,
Où ce mêloit la perle avec la pierrerie;
Son front d'une charmante et douce gravité
Mettoit d'accord l'amour avec la majesté,
Et ne faloit que veoir son aymable présence
Pour croire que le prince avoit bien mérité
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Aussy veoit-il soudain un héraud favorable
Qui luy porte d'en haut ce visible secours;
Il est surpris de veoir son visage adorable
Qui ternit les appas du plus beau des amours,
Son maintien le ravit, où, sans affeterie,
Avecque la douceur la beauté ce marie;
Il admire ces yeux, dont la vivacité
Fait veoir quelque rayon de la divinité,
Et commence à porter plus haut son espérance
Despuis qu'entre ses mains ont si bien éclaté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Grand Dieu, s'écrie alors ce prince incomparable,
N'estoit-ce pas asses, pour bien heurer mes jours,
D'avoir ceste liqueur, à jamais perdurable,
Qui doit de nos bonheurs éterniser le cours,
Sy pour mieux tesmoigner que ma chère patrie
Sur tous autres pais de ton cœur est chérie,
Tu n'usses le ciel mesmes en nos mains transporté,
Et des trois astres d'or son azur marqueté.
Continue enve(r)s nous, Seigneur, ta bienveillance,
Et défens à jamais, de toute adversité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Allégorie.

Mon Roy, qui de nos maux a la source tarie,
Est ce brave Louis, chassant l'idolâtrie,
Et le grand Richelieu, dont la fidélité
Maintient les trois estats sous son authorité
Et par qui son Empire est mis en asseurance,
Est cet ange qui porte en toute sureté
Les lys donnés du Ciel au sceptre de la France.

Jean Doujat (1634).[58]

In 1639 appeared a *chant royal* by a poet named Clarac in honor of the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV.[59] The author wrote also a comedy published at Lyons, entitled: *Arlequin ou Grapignan gascou.* Following is an extract of the poem:

"L'on voit autour de luy que la terre féconde
Ne laisse jamais rien ny sécher ni pourrir.
Une source de lait l'arrouse de son onde,
Dont le cours immortel ne peut jamais tarir.
Là le monde semble entre en sa première enfance,
Et le plaisir s'y prend avec tant d'innocence

[58] Jean Doujat, born 1606—died 1688, became a member of the French Academy in 1650. He was professor of canon and civil law in the university of Toulouse. It is said that he spoke nearly all the languages known, both ancient and modern. He collected a large library of works on theology, history and philology. He was the author of a well known *Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine.* Before his death he was appointed historiographer to the king. In 1634 and 1638 he won the Eglantine and the Violet in the Floral Games.

[59] Born September 5, 1638.

Que les plus médisans n'y peuvent rien forger.
Dans cet heureux climat, Silvie et son berger
Enflammés des ardeurs d'une amour mutuelle,
Contre celles du jour cherchent pour s'ombrager
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

" Cet arbre ne craint pas qu'on le coupe ou l'esmonde,
Son bonheur est cy grand qu'il n'a rien à souffrir;
S'il gresle, s'il fait vent, si le tonnerre gronde,
C'est pour grossir les fruitz et les faire meurir.
Par ses propriétés Dieu fait veoir sa puissance,
Il l'a vouleu douer d'une telle excellance
Que mesme en le touchant l'on ce peut alléger
Du plus cruel des maux qui nous viene affliger,
Et ceste qualité qu'il a sy naturelle
Fait souhaiter sans cesse au pais étranger
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

" Tout le monde est ravi des biens dont il abonde,
La terre, l'air, le feu, sont faitz pour le nourrir,
Et si l'on veoit ici que l'Océan inonde,
C'est afin que cet arbre y puisse refleurir.
Les cieux lui font tribut et pour recognoissance
Versent en sa faveur leur plus douce influance.
Tous les ans le printems reviend pour l'obliger;
L'esté meurit les fruitz que d'un soin homager
L'automne lui présente en offrande immortelle,
Et l'hiver rigoreux n'oseroit outrager
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle."[60]

Contemporaries of the Pléiade.

Bernard de Poey.

It has already been shown that while the *chant royal* was the sole form for which prizes were awarded, the poets were permitted to read poems of other genres before the judges of the Floral Games. The major part of two, and sometimes three days was spent in listening to the poets read their compositions. The number read or recited by each candidate no doubt depended largely on the

[60] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 353, r°.

number that his genius and inclination had led him to compose. In all probability a prize was bestowed frequently for the poet's works as a whole, rather than for a single *chant royal.* The fact that supplementary poems are inserted from time to time in the *Livre Rouge* lends color to this supposition. Since a *sonnet* appears in the *Livre Rouge* in 1554, and since in that same year an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard, we know that the influence of the Pléiade was not long in being felt at Toulouse. As early as 1551, one of the poets of the Floral Games, Bernard de Poey (whose latinized name was " Podius "), of Luc in Béarn, published at Toulouse a small volume of verse entitled: *Odes du Gave fleuve en Bearn, du fleuve de Garonne avec les tristes chans à sa Caranite.* In addition to the odes and *tristes chans,* the volume contained three *sonnets,* one of which was by Pierre du Cèdre, whom we have already mentioned. Du Bellay's *Deffence* and his *Olive* had appeared in 1549, and Ronsard's first volume of *Odes* had appeared in 1550. Among some Latin poems which he also published in 1551, Poey had one addressed to Ronsard. Thus, it is certain that the influence of Du Bellay and Ronsard was immediately felt at Toulouse. Bernard de Poey was a student, probably of medicine,[61] in the decade from 1550 to 1560. From May, 1551, to May, 1660, he won at intervals all three of the prizes of the Floral Games and became a master. All three of his winning *chants royaux* are recorded in the *Livre Rouge,* but none of them shows any marked Pléiade influence. In addition to his volumes of French and Latin poems, Poey translated works on veterinary surgery from the Latin and from the Italian. Guillaume Colletet, who in the seventeenth century prepared in manuscript the lives of several hundred of the French poets,[62] included a sketch of Bernard de Poey. Colletet's

[61] Poey translated works on veterinary surgery; one of his poems was addressed to a physician; he was a friend of Julius Caesar Scaliger, a physician, at Agen, and had relations with a certain Ferrier of Toulouse, doubtless Augier Ferrier, a celebrated physician and afterwards professor of medicine in the university.

[62] The title of Colletet's manuscript collection as given in the catalogue of Antoine-Alexandre Barbier (Paris, 1803) was as follows:

Histoire générale et particulière des Poètes françois, anciens et modernes, contenant leurs vies, suivant l'ordre chronologique, le jugement de leurs écrits imprimés, et quelques particularites des Cours des Rois et des Reines, des Princes

work remained in manuscript form and was destroyed in the fire which consumed the library of the Louvre during the Commune in 1871. Prior to that date, however, Tamizey de Larroque had culled the lives of the Gascon poets from Colletet's manuscript and had published them in the *Revue de Gascogne.*[63] Colletet is severe in his judgment of Bernard de Poey as a poet. He was comparing him to the great masters. If we consider Poey's odes in contrast with his *chants royaux* and those of others of the *Livre Rouge,* we are impressed at least by their simplicity. The native language of the poet was the Gascon, and at the time at which he composed his poems, the French had not become fully intrenched in the south of France. It was still a foreign language; and it is remarkable that Poey could have composed poems in it at all. That he acquired a good knowledge of French is indicated by a reference of François de Rabutin, who confessed that the Gascon poet had aided him to polish his French diction.[64]

It is almost certain that Bernard de Poey read odes and sonnets at the meeting of the Floral Games in May, 1551. In his *Ode de la Garonne* the poet praises cardinal d'Armagnac, first president of the

et des Princesses sous le règne desquels ils ont fleuri, et qui ont eux-mêmes cultivés la Poésie; avec quelques autres recherches curieuses que peuvent servir à l'histoire; par Guillaume Colletet, de l'Académie françoise.

Colletet lived in the seventeenth century. He had a wide and favorable reputation as a man of letters. His manuscript was one of those attempts common to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of which De Thou's *Histoire de mon temps,* Étienne Pasquier's *Recherches de la France,* La Roche Flavin's *Les treize livres des Parlements de la France,* have come down as good examples. Two important essays of restitution on the manuscript of Colletet have been published: *Le manuscrit des Vies des poètes françois de Guillaume Colletet, brûlé dans l'incendie de la Bibliothèque du Louvre:* essai de restitution par Léopold Pannier (Paris, 1872, in–8, de 19 pp.), and *Contribution à un essai de restitution du manuscrit de G. Colletet, intitulé "Vies des poètes françois," Revue de l'histoire littéraire de la France,* 1895 (2), p. 59.

The mainteneurs of the Floral Games awarded an honorary prize to Colletet in 1651, which according to Lagane, one of the later historians of the Floral Games, was presented because Colletet had dedicated the first edition of his works to the officials of that body. The sketch (according to a statement of Colletet) of Bernard de Poey was written in 1653.

[63] Tome VI, 1865. Auch.

[64] *Commentaires des dernières guerres en la Gaule Belgique, t. vii de la collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France,* par MM. Michaud et Poujoulat.

parlement Mansencal, several of the mainteneurs and masters of the Floral Games, as well as other people of prominence in Toulouse. Lafaille in his *Annales* of Toulouse says that cardinal d'Armagnac made an entry into Toulouse on the eve of the celebration of the Floral Games, May 1–3, 1551; that the capitouls were his hosts and entertained him at a banquet, which was a regular feature of the celebration of the Floral Games; and that he also attended the contest in the Hôtel de Ville.[65] Poey's poem was composed either in anticipation of, or shortly after the visit of the cardinal.

In the beginning of his "Ode to the Garonne," the poet celebrates the beauties of nature in the region of Toulouse:

Les cieux colourez par nature,
Les traits divers de la peinture,
Arbres chargé, champs jaunissants,
L'ouvrage de marqueterie,
Maintes fleurs parmi la prairie
Soulagent les cœurs languissans.
L'oraison enrichit la fable
Comme la viande la table.
Les astres font les cieux luisans.
Divers harnois faut en bataille.
L'émail décore la médaille.

. . . . . .

Sus donc, faisons son bruit durable!
Je luy suis beaucoup redevable,
Ayant receu don precieux
Par l'ordonnance Clementine,
M'a fait présent de l'eglantine,
Me reservant encore mieux.

He eulogizes Toulouse:

Il n'y a lieu qui tant m'agrée
Où mon esprit plus se recrée,

[65] Dumège thinks Lafaille is mistaken because the visit of cardinal d'Armagnac is not mentioned in the *Livre Rouge*. A study of the *Livre Rouge* shows that the secretaries gave no attention in their records to visitors or to the audience at the annual meetings. One could scarcely infer from its pages that the contests were held before the public, or that any one was ever present other than the officers and contestants.

Contemplant les dons planteureux,
L'excellente beauté des femmes,
Sans deshonneur et sans diffames.
Qui s'en approche est très heureux.

In a series of odes, Poey celebrates the beauties of his native Béarn and the rushing, tumbling mountain torrent, the Gave de Pau. The first ode begins as follows:

Descends, ma Muse, du ciel,
Laisse pour un peu la trouppe
Pour m'instiler de ton miel
Et du nectar en ma couppe.

Ou envoye moy ton ange
Qui me conduise en allant
Haut, pour chanter la louange
Du Gave des monts coulant.

Je voy descendre ton âme
Et sens en moy la douceur.
Peu à peu mon cœur s'enflame
D'une amiable fureur.

Des Nymphes j'entends la voix
Qui des chappeaux me façonnent.
Je fourvoye par les bois
Et d'un doux accord me sonnent.

Colletet gives grudging praise to Poey's *Ode du Gave*:

" Et ensuitte il loue selon son genie ce beau fleuve de son pays natal, et quoique ses vers ne soient pas ny fort beau ny fort esclattans si est-ce qu'il a peu se vanter d'avoir esté un des premiers qui nous a donné des odes en nostre langue . . . ":

" Gave, de source argentine,
De tout le pays l'honneur,
Qui par ton eaue cristaline
Sur tous fleuves es seigneur,

Gave, flottant doucement,
Aymé des Muses pignées,
Qui preus cours heureusement
Des montagnes Pyrenées,

Gave, que Bearn passant,
Qui arrouses le vignoble,
Plus que voirre reluisant,
Tu es fameux et très noble.

. . . . .

Des biens portes à foison.
Tu nourris truittes dorées,
Parmy tant de beau poisson,
Et lamproyes coulourées,

Le saumon resplendissant
Plus que pierre précieuse
Quand le soleil est luisant
Bondit sur l'onde amoureuse.

Plus fertile es que le Tage
Plus que le Nil planteureux.
Qui près a son héritage,
Celuy n'est-il donc heureux?"

Compare with the above the first strophe of the *chant royal par allégorie, du mistère de l'unité et trinité divine,* for which Bernard de Poey had been awarded the Eglantine:

"En ung verger auquel nature humaine
N'a point accès sans contemplation,
Je fut ravy, duquel en rude vayne
Veulx réciter quelque description.
Moyse fut sur tous élloquent maistre,
En descrivant le Paradis terrestre;
Homère escript par grand dextérité
D'aulcuns vergiers la belle aménité;
Mais on n'a veu, en ce terrestre estaige,
Vergier où soit à perpétuité
L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage."

In 1553 Poey was awarded the Marigold. The first strophe of his poem runs as follows:

"Les Cieulx estoient par cinq cercles haulsez
Jà commençoit la chaleur véhémente

A descouvrir les monts et boys mussez
En esclairant ceste terre pesante.
Les quatre ventz habitoient près des cieulx:
L'Eure, Zéphire et Auster pluvieux,
Et Boreas tremblant, plein de nuysance,
Ayant choisy chacun sa demourance.
L'eau arrousoit la semence terrestre
Des animaulx nourrissant l'affluance,
Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."

While the poem as a whole is an abstract and conventional conception, and of little interest, the poet succeeded better with his second strophe than was usual for the poets in treating philosophical and scientific subjects:

" Six jours avoit le soleil compassez,
La lune ès nuictz, d'humeur estoit coullante,
Ayant les cieux jà six foys repassez,
Rendoient la terre aux bestes verdoyantes,
Le mouvement des cieulx mellodieux
Déclairoit l'œuvre estoc délicieux.
O faict divin d'esternelle substance,
Du monde rond digne circonférence,
Laquelle a pris divinement son aistre,
Pour les vivans certaine résidence,
Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."

In 1560, Bernard de Poey won the Violet, and since he had now won all three of the prizes offered by the Floral Games, he passed to the stage of Master. The first two strophes of his poem are as follows:

Le tout étoit en tout et le tout amassé
N'étoit qu'un lourd monceau, un gros monceau estrange
Sans forme et sans beaulté, nullement compassé.
Le ciel, la terre et l'eau, ce n'estoit que meslange
Le soleil ne donoit à la terre challeur
Le ciel bigarré ne monstroit sa coulleur,
Les estoilles au ciel que nous voyons errantes
Les estoilles des cieulx au monde estincellantes
N'avoyent assubiecté la terre à leurs effaictz

Pour que Démagorgon des causes transparantes
Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.

Le ciel tout à la fois la terre a surpassé,
Des corps luisans, le corps qui quatre fois se change
A tout cest unyvers à la fois repassé
Et faict en lumyners ung immortel eschange.
Tout à la fois des corps le discord et rigueur
Se sont contrechangés en accord et douceur.
La mer a retiré ses trasses ondoiantes,
La terre aussi ses fleurs et simes verdoyants,
La terre s'est rendue immobile en son sain,
De son sain la semence et le fonct de ses antes (?)
Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.[66]

DU BARTAS AND GARNIER.

Bernard de Poey and the poets of Toulouse from 1550 to 1565 were the precursors of the greatest figure produced by the Floral Games in the period of the Renaissance, Guillaume Saluste, sieur du Bartas, who was awarded the Violet in 1565.

Du Bartas was born in 1544 at the ancestral castle at Montfort, in Gascony. He became a student of law at Toulouse, and it was while there that he won his prize in the Floral Games, and that, at the request of Margaret of Navarre, he composed his first longer work on a Biblical subject, *Judith,* an epic with appeared in a volume entitled *La Muse chrétienne* (Bordeaux, 1573).[67] This was followed five years later by his principal work, *La Semaine,* an epic on the creation of the world. He was employed by Henry IV of France on various missions to England, Scotland and Denmark, and commanded a troop of horse in Gascony under Marshal Martignan. He was a strong Huguenot, fought at the battle of Ivry, was wounded, and died from the effects of his wounds some time between 1590 and 1592. As a writer, he was the idol of the

[66] Note that this poem is written in *Alexandrins.* The *Alexandrin* had been introduced in 1556.

[67] Tilley (*The Literature of the French Renaissance*) says that *Judith* was written in 1565, the year in which Du Bartas was a contestant in the Floral Games. Did the request of Margaret of Navarre come as a result of his success in the contest? Perhaps *Judith* was written at Toulouse.

Protestants, who put him on a level with Ronsard; and it is said that *La Semaine* passed through more than thirty editions in six years. The religious tone of the work made it a great favorite in England, where the author was called "the divine Du Bartas." To his translation of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome,* Edmund Spenser added a sonnet of praise in which he coupled the name of Du Bartas with that of Du Bellay. Ben Jonson spoke flatteringly of him, and James VI of Scotland tried his "prentice hand" at translating his poem *Uranie,* which compliment Du Bartas returned by translating the king's poem on the battle of Lepanto into French. In 1584, he began the publication of the *Seconde Semaine.* His aim in continuing his earlier effort was to create a great epic which should stretch from the story of the creation to the coming of the Messiah. The work was never completely executed. In addition to his religious poems, Du Bartas composed *Les Neuf Muses Pyrénéennes,* which were of a profane character, and also wrote poetry in the Gascon dialect. Before his death he composed a poem on the battle of Ivry.

Du Bartas's experience at Toulouse and his Huguenot environment caused him to extend his sympathy to the literature of the Bible as well as to those of Greece and Rome. His fame as a religious poet extended to many lands. In England, Joshua Sylvester acquired a literary reputation for his version of the *Semaine,* which became one of the great literary models of the Puritans. Milton was probably indebted to him for his conception of *Paradise Lost,* as well as for various passages contained in it. Abraham Cowley drew from him for his epic *Davideis,* and the early American poet, Mrs. Ann Bradstreet ("tenth Muse"), was known as the "Du Bartas maid." In Italy Tasso imitated him in his *Sette giornate del mondo creato,* and in Germany, Goethe was attracted by him, considering him a great master; he was especially struck by the passage where God cast his eye over his completed task:

> "Ici la pastorelle, à trauers vne plaine,
> A l'ombre, d'vn pas lent, son gras troupeau rameine;
> Cheminant, elle file, et, à voir sa façon,
> On diroit qu'elle entonne vne douce chanson."

In spite of his universal popularity, the works of Du Bartas soon

fell into an oblivion in France from which they have never recovered. For three hundred years there has been no complete edition of his works published. One poet alone in modern times has been influenced by him, Heredia (himself half foreign), who took from an episode in Du Bartas' chief poem the title of his *Trophées*.[68] There were both external and internal reasons for the fall of Du Bartas in France. In the first place, he was fully identified with the Huguenot cause, and his writings became a center of conflict between the opposing religious and political factions. The Protestants set him over against Ronsard, the Catholic poet of the court. When the Catholics gained the ascendancy in France, Du Bartas suffered the fate of the defeated Huguenots. In the second place, his works have failed to interest Frenchmen of subsequent generations. This is due partly to the manner in which the author introduced into his works the ill-digested ideas of the Renaissance, partly to the lack of a close unity and well defined thread of action, partly to the language, which lacks for the most part the smoothness and beauty of works produced in the seventeenth century. A comparison of the *Semaine* with Milton's *Paradise Lost* will show clearly why Du Bartas has failed to have the lasting popularity enjoyed by Milton in the English-speaking world. Milton was fortunate in living in the next generation when the ideas of the Renaissance had assumed definite form and the language in both France and England was tending toward perfection. To Du Bartas is due the credit of a lofty conception of a Christian epic, and to Milton the perfecting of it. Milton's relation to Du Bartas is somewhat analogous to that of Racine as the follower and perfecter of Corneille.

In the choice of his theme, in his fondness for introducing all sorts of ideas, such as theology, mythology, history, metaphysics, mathematics, medicine, and the occult and natural sciences—astrology, astronomy, alchemy, physics, chemistry, Du Bartas is a typical poet of the Floral Games. The only difference between him and his companion poets was that what they attempted on a small scale, he tried to do on a colossal one. The mystery of the creation and the beginning of the world haunted the young poets of the Floral Games. A study of the *Livre Rouge* from 1550 to 1565, the

[68] Wright, *Hist. of Fr. Lit.*, p. 226.

year in which Du Bartas won a prize, is convincing proof that he is a natural product of the Floral Games. The opening lines of a few of the *chants royaux* of this period are a good illustration of what the poets at Toulouse considered the chief themes of poetic inspiration:

"L'éternité, infinie mesure
N'ayant milieu, fin ni commencement
Faict l'Univers; l'Univers se mesure
Du temps qui cause altéré changement."
Jehan de Flavyn, 1550.

"Le seul mouvant l'ung et l'autre hémysphère
Et qui ne prend que de soy mouvement,
Mouvant de soy la rondeur de l'esphère,
L'ung cercle esmeut l'autre divinement."
Anthoine Noguierys, 1550.

"La cause seulle, en soy indivisible,
Tout produisant de son mesme pouvoir,
Estre ne peult de son œuvre sensible,
Comprinse en rien, pour son estre et sçavoir."
Guillaume Cayret, 1552.

"Des grands accordz du monde et de nature
Fut procrée Lycaon discordant,
Tant que changé de perverse nature
Pour périr tout par tout va regardant."
. . . . . .
Deucalion qui restaura le monde."
Jehan Carles, 1552.

"Les cieulx estoient par cinq cercles haulséz
Jà commençoit la chaleur véhémente
A descouvrir les monts et boys mussez
En esclairant ceste terre pesante."
Bernard Podius (Poey), 1552.

"Lorsque ce monde en son centre requis,
Monde parfaict, vray pourtraict de nature,
Brusloit en flamme, à grands tourmentz soubmis,
Ne produisant qu'infaicte pourriture, . . ."
Jehan de Barot, 1554.

"Quand l'embrouillé cahos on desmella,
Et que le feu se sépara de l'onde,
Voire la terre à l'air ne rébella,
Une clairté embellit tout le monde."
. . . Dubuys, 1555.

"La terre lorde preit sa place et résidance,
Au plus loing des haultz cieulx la vagabonde mer
A l'entour de la terre esleut sa demeurance,
Et l'air jusqu'an plus hault se voulut sublimer, . . ."
Pierre Garros, 1557.

"Cest ouvrier excellent pensoit en son ouvraige
De se rendre à jamais par ses faictz admirable;
Essaiant d'assopir le descord et la rage
Qui regnoit au chaos lordement détestable, . . ."
Sanxon de Lacroix, 1558.

"L'ouvrier céleste ayant soing d'esgaller
Au plus parfaict de son myeulx ung ouvrage
Que sien il peult hardiment appeller,
Forma ung corps pourtant de son imaige . . ."
J. de Cardonne, 1558.

"Par delà ce grand rond qui la terre enyronne,
De tous solides corps, estant le plus parfaict,
Celluy qui le régit qui l'anime et luy donne . . ."
Guillaume de Lagrange, 1559.

"On a dit vaynement que ceste masse ronde
Son commencement print lors que la paix eust faict
Séparer l'air, le feu, de la terre et de l'onde
N'estant qu'ung lourd cahos, difforme et contrefaict."
Anthoine de Tinturier, 1560.

"Le tout étoit en tout et le tout amassé
N'étoit qu'un lourd monceau, un gros monceau estrange
Sans forme et sans beaulté, nullement compassé
Le ciel, la terre et l'eau, ce n'estoit que meslange . . ."
Bernard de Poey, 1560.

. . . . . .

"Je viz en ung épaiz de mon entendement
L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
Denys Bouthillier, 1562.

"Le monde charpenté etoit obscur encore
Et encore la nuict ombrageoit l'univers, . . ."
J. Cardonne, 1564.

"Quant ce qui est enclos dessoubz la voûte insigne
Du ciel qui va bornant le monde spacieux
Eust receu sa première et parfaicte origine . . ."
Rodolphe Gay, 1565.

These astronomic citations remain inferior to the splendid passage of Rotrou (*Saint-Genest,* Act ii, Sc. 2):

"J'ose à présent, ô Ciel, d'une vue assurée,
Contempler les brillants de ta voûte azurée,
Et nier ces faux dieux, qui n'ont jamais foulé
De ce palais roulant le lambris étoilé."

In 1564, Du Bartas entered the contest of the Floral Games. The impromptu trial called the *Essay* was imposed upon several of the candidates for one of the prizes. Among them were Guillaume Saluste (Du Bartas) and Robert Garnier. The prize was awarded to Garnier. Robert Garnier studied law at Toulouse. He won the Violet in 1564, and the Eglantine in 1566. He also composed poems in honor of the entry of Charles IX into Toulouse in 1565. While at Toulouse he published a volume of poetry entitled *Plaintes amoureuses.* He was destined to occupy a lasting place in the history of French literature, and had an important hand in shaping the direction of French drama. His most important dramas were *Les Juives* and *Bradamante,* the first French tragi-comedy.

In the next year, 1565, Du Bartas won the Violet for the following chant royal:[69]

"Le nocher basané qui de l'onde azurée
A force d'avirons fend le doz écumeuz
Ung seul moment de temps n'a la vue assurée
Car oultre la fureur des aquilons émeuz
Contre le dard murdrier du foudroiant oraige,
Oultre le traistre abord d'un sabloneux rivaige,
Oultre mile rochers, mil goufres tournoians
Et mil escueils caichés soubz les flotz aboians,

[69] *Livre Rouge,* vol. 1, f. 200. Hitherto unpublished.

Il fault qu'à tous propoz saigement il évite,
Pour trasser sans péril les sillons ondoians,
La voix plongeant les naus dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Car ez lieux plus fréquens de l'humide contrée
Les filles d'Achélous, cest Achélous fameuz
Qui du Pinde roulant tient l'Actolle émincée
Entre les deux canalz de ses flotz limoneuz,
Tachent des navigans enchaîner le couraige,
Avec l'atraict minhard de leur serain visaige,
Et avec leurs chanssons dont les trompeurs accens
Surpassent en doulceur les soupirs languissans
De l'oiseau d'Apollon quant la mort le visite,
Si qu'on fuyt rarement comme hameçons nuisans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

D'aultant qu'oultre leur voix d'un doux sucre comblée
Et leur bel embonpoinct qui tenteroit les dieux
Toutes trois ont encor parole emmiellée
Qui charme les espritz des passans curieux,
Leur promettant cent fois d'un affecté langaige
Bienheurer de plaisir le reste de leur aige,
Libre de tous soulciz et chagrins des plaisans,
Mesmes de leurs beautés les rendre jouyssans
S'ilz ancrent à ce bord où personne n'habite
Que les nimphes des eaux et les tritons oians
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Adonq les mariniers oians l'âme émurée
De leurs traîtres appas et chantz mélodieux
Singlent d'un roide bras leurs barques calfutrées
Pour aborder bien tost un lieu délicieux
Où les trompeuses seurs dégoisent leur ramaige,
Dessus les pasles eaulx monstrent leur blanc corsaige,
Touteffois sur le poinct qu'ilz s'estiment contentz,
Voissi soubdain l'assault des gros flots floflotans
Qui dans le ventre creuz d'un goufre précipite
Les pouvres nautoniers à bon droict maugréantz
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Mais ceulx follement n'ont leur vie occupée
Après le vain plaisir d'un chant si dangereux,

Ainçois bien adiustés ont l'oreille estoupée,
Pour n'ouir des trois seurs les propoz doulcereuz
Ymitans les soldatz et ceste Ulisse saige,
Qui nonobstant l'effort de mainct et mainct naufraige
Le palais de Neptune a fréquenté dix ans,
Conduiront sans péril leurs galions glissans
Combien que l'Océan encontre iceulx s'irrite,
Car couvers de vertu, ils seront desprisans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite."

Allégorie.

" Les hommes aveuglés qui durant le voiaige
De ceste frelle vie élisant le servaige
Des sales voluptés sont en fin périssans,
Mais ceulx qui captivans l'appétit de leurs sens
Reçoivent la raison pour leur seure conduicte,
Sont toujours bien heureux, justement haïssans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite."

In the phrase *flots floflotans* began an imitation of the eccentricities of the Pléiade which Du Bartas carried to excess in his works, and which later not only served to aid in discrediting them, but the Ronsardist tradition as well. Examples of his tendency to exaggeration of language which have been frequently quoted, are his descriptions of the horse and of the lark:

" Le champ plat bat, abat, destrape, grape, atrape
Le vent qui va devant."

" La gentile alouëte avec son tire-lire
Tire l'ire aux faschez: et d'une tire tire
Vers le pôle brillant."

La Semaine contains passages which are evidence of true genius on the part of the author, but the work as a whole is uneven, and the inspiration is not sustained. The following reminds one of the passage which Shakespeare was to write later:

" Le monde est un theatre, où de Dieu la puissance,
La iustice, l'amour, le sçavoir, la prudence,
Iouent leur personnage, et comme à qui mieux mieux

Les esprits plus pesans rauissent sur les cieux.
Le monde est vn grand livre, où du Souuerain maistre
L'admirable artifice on lit en grosse lettre.
Chasque œuure est une page, et chasque sien effect
Est un beau charactere en tous ses traits parfaict."

The poet's fondness for simile is again expressed in the following passage, which contains some lines which are not lacking in grace and beauty:

". . . , ainsi que fait le maistre
D'un bastiment royal, qui plus tost que de mettre
La main à la besongne, eslit vn bastiment,
Où la richesse & l'art luisent esgalement.
Et ne pouuant trouuer en vn seul edifice
Toutes beautez en bloc, il prend le frontispice
De ce palais ici, d'vn autre les piliers,
D'vn autre la façon des riches escaliers:
Et choisissant par tout les choses les plus belles,
Fait vn seul bastiment dessus trente modelles:
Ains n'ayant rien qu'vn Rien pour dessus lui mouler
Vn chef-d'œuure si beau, l'Eternel sans aller
Rauasser longuement, sans tressuer de peine,
Fit l'air, le ciel, la terre, & l'ondoyante plaine:
Ainsi que le Soleil, qui, sans bouger des cieux,
Couronne de bouquets le Printemps gracieux:
Engrosse sans trauail nostre mere feconde,
Et, lointain raieunit le visage du monde."

The traditional influence of the *Roman de la Rose* handed down by the Rhetoricians is to be seen in such lines as:

"Chasse-ennuy, chasse-dueil, chasse-nuict, chasse-craincte."

As for Du Bartas, he successfully imitated at times the manner of the Pléïade:

"Iamais le gai Printemps à mes yeux ne propose
L'azur du lin fleuri, l'incarnat de la rose,
Le pourpre rougissant de l'œillet à maints plis,
Le fin or de Clytie, & la neige du lis,
Que ie n'admire en eux le peintre qui colore

Les champs de plus de teints que le front de l'Aurore,

. . . . . .

Ains, semblable à la fleur du lin qui naist et tombe
Tout en vn mesme iour, son bers seroit sa tombe,
Son printemps son hyuer, sa naissance sa mort."

Du Bartas' apostrophe to Night is not very different from similar ones of Shakespeare:

" L'architecte du monde ordonna qu'à leur tour
Le iour suiuist la nuict, la nuict suiuist le jour.
La nuict peut temperer du iour la secheresse,
Humecte nostre ceil, & nos guerets engresse.
La nuict est celle là qui charme nos trauaux,
Enseuelit nos soins, donne trefue à nos maux.
La nuict est celle-là qui de ses ailes sombres
Sur le monde muet fait auecques les ombres
Degouter le silence, & couler dans les os
Des recreus animaux vn sommeilleux repos.
O douce Nuict, sans toi, sans toi l'humaine vie,
Ne seroit qu'un enfer, où le chagrin, l'enuie,
La peine, l'auarice, & cent façons de morts
Sans fin bourrelleroyent & nos cœurs & nos corps.
O Nuict, tu vas ostant le masque & la feintise,
Dont sur l'humain theatre en vain on se desguise
Tandis que le iour luit, ô Nuict alme par toy
Sont faits de tout esgaux le bouuier et le Roy,
Le pauure et l'opulent, le Grec et le Barbare,
Le iuge & l'accusé, le sçauuant & l'ignare,
Le maistre et le valet, le difforme et le beau:
Car, Nuict, tu couures tout de ton obscur manteau."

The following, composed in a manner dear to Du Bartas, recall some of the lines of the poem of Bernard de Poey, given above:

La terre estoit au ciel, & le ciel en la terre.
La terre, l'air, le feu se tenoyent dans la mer.

In spite of many striking passages and beautiful lines, *La Semaine* is tedious to read. In the vastness of his conception and the universality of the learning he displays, Du Bartas may be com-

pared with Rabelais. He failed to execute well his conception, and in his language suffered the same malady that was common to the poets of the Floral Games. Du Bartas was a Gascon, and never fully mastered the possibilities of the French language. When he sought to imitate the language of the Pléïade, he was unable to use proper discrimination, frequently falling into the worst faults of his models, and surpassing them in the exaggeration of their defects. Had he lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the ideas of the Renaissance had become clarified and the language perfected, he would no doubt have produced a lasting masterpiece.

Guillaume Saluste, sieur Du Bartas, Pierre de Brach, of Bordeau, and Pierre Dampmartin, of Toulouse, who were fellow students in the study of law, were close personal friends, and all three courted the Muse in their leisure hours. The last two were winners in the contest of 1567, Dampmartin obtaining the Violet, and Brach the Eglantine. Like Du Bartas, they both show the influence of the Pléïade in their language. The following line is from Dampmartin:

"Restoit encores Mars, ce brave *porte-lance.*"

and these from Brach:

"Empruntant d'Apollon la *douxcullante* haleine."

"Transmis du *darde-foudre* en ceste terre basse."

PIERRE DE BRACH.

Pierre de Brach[70] was born at Bordeaux in 1547. From a reference in his *Hymne de Bordeaux,* it is quite probable that he received his earlier training in the famous college of Guyenne. He studied law at Toulouse, and it was while there that he became interested in poetry. He returned to his native Bordeaux, where he became a lawyer in the parlement. The interest in poetry which

[70] Reinhold Dezeimeris, editor of the works of Pierre de Brach (*Œuvres,* vol. ii, p. 298), gives the following footnote on a sonnet written on the poet by Étienne Pasquier:

"Il est à remarquer que Pasquier, dans ses Œuvres, écrit: BRASCH, ce qui nous indique la prononciation du temps, laquelle s'est conservée dans la famille."

had begun at Toulouse was continued, and Brach became one of the most skillful imitators of the *Pléiade,* first of Du Bellay and Ronsard, and later of Desportes. By studying his models, he was able to acquire a rare polish and finish in his language. His first volume of poems appeared in 1576 from the press of Simon Millanges, who had just set up the first printing press in Bordeaux, and who was destined to become the publisher of the *Essays* of Montaigne. His second volume was composed of imitations of Tasso and Ariosto, appearing in 1584, from the press of Millanges. His third volume was a translation of four cantos[71] of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered,* which appeared from the press of Abel L'Angelier at Paris in 1596. He spent a pleasant life and counted among his many friends, Montaigne, Du Bartas, Florimond Rémond, and Juste Lipse. He was a liberal Catholic in his views, and his attitude toward the religious agitations of his time was not unlike that of his friend Montaigne. Du Bartas, the Huguenot champion, and Florimond Rémond, the fire-eating Catholic, were equally dear to him. It was no doubt this evenness of temperament which prevented him from instilling into his verses that quality of divine fire essential to immortality. Though only a follower, he was an elegant poet and deserved to be better remembered by posterity. He is at his best in the hymn to Bordeaux and the *Voyage en Gascogne.* The latter is a light letter in verse, of which there is not better example in French literature. Pierre de Brach died some time after 1604, according to the sketch of him written by Guillaume Colletet for his *Vies des Poètes françois.* The life of Colletet is included in the collected works of Brach published under the direction of Reinhold Dezeimeris.[72]

The works of Brach as published under the direction of Dezeimeris, are in two volumes, the first of which contains the *Amours d'Aymée* (in two books, before and after marriage), the *Regrets et Larmes funèbres,* upon the death of Aymée, and a fourth book, the *Tombeau et Regrets funèbres,* made up of poems composed by friends of the poet upon the death of his wife. The second volume is composed of four books of *Poèmes et Meslanges.* The poems

[71] Sixteenth, fourth, twelfth, and second.

[72] Two volumes, Paris, Aubry, 1862.

embrace a variety of forms common to the Renaissance, but are principally in the form of elegies, odes and sonnets. The *Amours d'Aymée* is a collection of elegies, odes and sonnets inspired by Anne de Perrot, daughter of the seigneur de Crognac, who lived near Bordeaux. Under the inspiration of an ardent passion, the poet began a series of poems in which the object of his love is given the name "Aymée." Anne de Perrot became his wife, and he continued to sing her praises; like Petrarch, he sang to his sweetheart both during her life and after her death. The most striking sonnet in the collection is the one on Aymée's mirror:

Au lieu de ce miroer qui pend à ta ceinture,[73]
Je veux que de mes vers le miroer soit porté,
Miroer, où vivement ma plume a raporté
Ta beauté, ta rigueur, & le mal que j'endure.
Pour t'immortaliser j'y fay voir ta figure,
Ta rigueur, pour monstrer quelle est ma fermeté,
Mon mal, pour te blasmer de ceste cruauté:
Et tout va tesmoignant combien ma peine est dure.
Sans estre enorgueillie en voyant ton portrait,
Ma belle, souviens-toi que le miroer est fait
Pour voir si quelque tache enlaidist le visage;
Oste donc la rigueur dont le tien est taché.
Rien ne peint un miroer quand l'objet est caché,
Mais le mien sans objet, paint au vif ton image.

After his master Ronsard, Pierre de Brach celebrates the Rose:

Je veux rendre à jamais, par mes vers, renommée[74]
La rose dont Aymée au soir me fist present,
Apres qu'en ma faveur elle l'eut, en baisant
Un baiser dous-sentant, souëfvement en-basmée.
Dans son sein cete rose, estroitement fermée,
Montroit en ses replis son vermeil fletrissant,
Mais je vy la couleur de son taint fanissant,
Se vermeiller aux bords de la bouche d'Aymée.
Ton taint donques, Aymée, à la rose est pareil . . .
Las! non est: car on voit soubs un mesme Soleil
La rose se fanir, de son bouton éclose:

[73] Vol. 1, p. 27.
[74] Vol. 1, p. 102.

Mais ta beauté, trop belle, embellist tous les jours;
Heureux si ta beauté, sujet de mes amours,
Née & morte en un jour fust ainsi qu'une rose!

The poet sings the death of his beloved Aymée:

Sombre allée, en lauriers espaissemant ombreuse,[75]
Qui me sers de carriere, où je vay si souvant
Esperonné du deuil, cerchant & ne trouvant
Ce que m'a desrobé la tombe tenebreuse,
Ta belle promenade un temps me fust heureuse,
Quand nos devis alloient tes feuilles esmouvant;
Mais ores que mes pleurs vont la terre abreuvant,
Autant que tu m'as pleu, je te trouve ennuieuse.
Beaus lauriers, je pençoy, sans ce triste mechef,
Un jour de vos rameaus voir couronner mon chef;
Je n'ay plus ce desir, & meshuy je proteste
Que mon chef ne sera de verd environné;
Ou, s'il faut que mon front soit un jour couronné,
Ce sera d'un cyprez à la branche funeste.

One of the best of the poems of Brach is *La Monomachie*,[76] in which he vividly portrays the combat between David and Goliath. The following is his portrait of Goliath faring forth to battle:

Ainsi donc, furieux, de colere enflameé,
Il sortit de son camp de pied en cap armé,
Portant un morrion enfoncé sur sa teste,
Ombragé d'un panache au dessous de la creste;
Ses deux greves s'armoient de jambieres d'airain,
De cuirasse son dos, d'une lance sa main
Dont la grandeur sembloit estre expres façonnée
Pour porter d'une nef la grand voile empennée.

En marchant à grands pas la terre il arpentoit;
De sa levre baveuse une escume sortoit;
Une épesse sueur, qui du chef lui degoute
Par les rides du front s'avaloit goute à goute;
Ses yeux tous enflammés ressambloient à l'esclair
Que Jupin fait briller par le vague de l'ær

[75] Tome i, p. 236.
[76] Tome ii, pp. 9 ff.

Pour estre avant-coureur du bourdonnant tonnerre,
Que son bras courroussé de son trosne desserre.

The fatal blow and death of the giant are pictured:

Alors contre la terre affermissant son pas,
Faisant d'un demi tour rouër en l'ær son bras,
Il débanda sa fonde en son doit arrestée,
Au jugement de l'œil mesurant sa portée,
La mesurant si bien, que le caillou jetté
Au milieu de son front fut droitement porté;
Et la force du coup en le frappant fut telle,
Qu'il cercha soubs le test sa gluante cervelle.

Le sang chaud & vermeil à gros bouillons saillant,
Alloit de toutes pars son visage souillant,
Coulant à longs filets, & la terre alterée,
S'abbreuvant de son sang, de sang fut colorée.

Lors, estourdi du coup, deçà, delà tremblant,
De teste & de genous foiblement chancelant,
Il ressembloit l'ivrogne à qui le pied chancelle,
Pour s'estre trop chargé de l'enfant de Semelle;
Mais apres qu'il se fut longuement balancé,
Il tomba de son long en terre renvercé.
De se lever debout par trois fois il essaye,
Par trois fois il retombe, agravé de sa playe,
Secoüant le jarret, levant en haut la main,
Qui, mi-morte, en tremblant se combatoit en vain.

In his hymn to his native city, the poet is truly inspired. Under his pen, alternate praise and description bring before the eye of the reader in kaleidoscopic fashion the essential qualities and features of the city and life of Bordeaux:[77]

"Ores, d'un masle son, d'une plus forte vois,
Je veux chanter Bourdeaux, jadis siege des rois."

. . . . . .

"Mais où, comment, par quoi faut-il que je commence?
Je me trouve indigent en ma riche abondance;"

. . . . . .

[77] Tome ii, pp. 63 ff.

"Ainsy voit on souvent la jeune fiancée,
Qui sent d'un chaste amour eschauffer sa pencée,
Errer dans un jardin, pour cueillir de sa main
Un bouquet bien fleurant à mettre dans son sein;
Ou pour à son ami, le mettant comme en montre,
Le faire demander à leur premier rencontre.
Elle voit le jardin de fleurs tout diapré:
Là l'aspic porte-epy, ici l'œillet pourpré,
Là blanchissent les lis, la vermeillent les roses
Au lever du matin nouvellement écloses;
Ici jaunit la fleur qui regarde en son cours
Le soleil desdaigneux de ses longues amours,
Et dix mille autres fleurs elle voit devant elle,
Sans pouvoir faire chois de la fleur la plus belle;
Mais, épointe à la fin d'un mouvement soudain,
Elle arrache la fleur la plus proche à sa main.
Du los donc de Bourdeaux cueillons la fleur premiere,
Sans choisir, perennant sa saison printaniere."[78]

After singing of the antiquities of Bordeaux, the poet turns to the modern side, celebrating the churches, the parlement, etc.

"Bourdeaux, si j'ai chanté ta plus vieille memoire,
Je veux chanter le los de ta plus jeune gloire,
Ces temples, ces palais, qui en leur nouveauté
Sans ruine ont gardé leur premiere beauté."

In concluding, the poet says:

"Bourdeaux, il eust fallu, pour chanter tes merites,
Cent mille raretés avoir encor descrites,
Bourdeaux, heureux Bourdeaux, duquel toujours mes vers

[78] Compare the following fragment from Du Bartas:

"Sçais-tu que nous ferons?—O Muse, mon soucy,
Mes delices, mon tout!—Nous ferons tout ainsi
Que la pucelle main d'une jeune bergere,
Qui ne va despouillant toute la prime vere
De ses peintes beautés, & ne vous ravissant
Un matin tout l'honneur d'un jardin florissant:
Ains coupe, en ce carreau, une fleur azuree,
En l'autre, une blanchastre, en l'autre une doree.
De ses cheveux les lie, &, chaste, les baisant,
A son cher fiancé s'en-court faire un present."
—Tome ii, p. 401, éd. 1611, *Œuvres* de Du Bartas.

Bruiront & rebruiront le los par l'univers,
Je te repute heureux, pour ne voir ta contrée
Par un Cancre brulant chaudement alterée;
Heureux, pour ne te voir assis au mesme endroit
Des Scytes englacés, qui, soubs un ær trop froid,
Et trop loin du Soleil, ont tousjours sur leur teste,
Soufflés, negés, glacés, l'hiverneuse tempeste; . . ."

Brach's disgust with the study of law at Toulouse is voiced in the following sonnet:

Pourquoi ne pouvons-nous acheter la science?[79]
Ou pourquoi ne vient elle avec l'heredité?
Pourquoi l'astre éclairant nostre nativité
Ne la darde sur nous avec son influence,
Sans que, pour en avoir la sage connoissance,
Et le corps & l'esprit soit tousjours tormenté,
Souffrant dans un estude ou le chaud d'un esté,
Ou d'un hyver glacé la froide intemperance?
L'ær n'agueres bouilloit soubs le feu du soleil,
Ores il est gelé trop lointain de son œil,
Blutant épessement des neiges farineuses.
Je bruslois lors de chaud; je glace ores de froid:
Violà les passetemps que mon esprit reçoit,
Apprenant les accords de nos lois querelleuses.

He celebrates a sweetheart left behind in Toulouse at the end of his student days. One will note the beauty and sadness of the last three lines:

Ny voir à mon retour mes parens contentés[80]
Ny voir de mes amis une trouppe cherie;
Ny voir les champs fertils de ma chere patrie
D'où je m'étoi bani dé-jà par trois estés;
Ny voir en nostre port mille nouvelletés
Qu'apporte l'Occean alors qu'il se marie
A nos fleuves Gascons, desquels le cours varie
Par le regorgement de ses flots irrités;

[79] Tome ii, p. 194.
[80] Tome ii, p. 195.

Ny me voir contanté d'une large abondance,
Me voyant estre exempt de l'estroite indigence
Que le pouvre escolier a tousjours pres de soi:
Je n'ay de tout cela reçeu tant de liesse,
Que du seul souvenir de ma belle maistresse,
Qui peut estre a perdu le souvenir de moi.

In the following *sonnet,* Brach struck a chord which brings to mind *Les Fâcheux,* that Molière was to write in the next century:

Je n'aime point d'ouïr les nouvelles qu'on dit;
Mais tousjours, par malheur, le premier que j'acoste
A leu quelque paquet apporté par un poste,
Et m'asseure avoir veu quelque nouvel edit.
Puis quelque autre nouvelle un autre me redit,
Et, s'il n'en sçait aucune, il en forge à sa poste;
Puis quelque autre, arrivé fraischement par la poste,
Par quelque autre nouvelle à ceux-là contredit.
Ainsi diverçement je suis contraint d'apprendre
Mille nouvelletés qu'il me fâche d'entendre;
Mais en me les disant on les dit à un sourd,
Et l'on n'a garde apres de les m'ouïr redire,
Car il est dangereux d'en dire ou d'en escrire:
Et j'en prens pour tesmoin les arrests de la Cour.

The above is one of a series of nineteen *sonnets* satirizing the condition of France in the midst of the turmoil of the civil and religious wars. The poet gives voice to his indignation in the following:

Miserables François, hé! que voulés vous faire?
Hé! pourquoi voulés vous, enyvrés de courrous,
Enfelonnant vos cœurs, vous occire entre vous,
Et de vos propres mains vous mesmes vous deffaire?
Miserables François, he! qu'aviés vous affaire
En vous remutinant de vous eslever tous?
Mais encor, qui pis est, hé! pourquoi, pouvres fous,
Armés vous l'estranger, pour vuider vostre affaire?
Las! c'est le plus beau jeu qui lui pourroit venir,

[81] Tome ii, p. 130.
[82] Tome ii, p. 125.

Soubs couleur de vouloir un parti soustenir,
De pouvoir envahir la France desolée.
Un jouët plus plaisant il ne pourroit avoir,
Que de voir cete guerre entre-vous s'esmouvoir,
Pour pescher, comme on dit, quand la mer est troublée.

The *Voyage en Gascogne* is a letter in verse which Pierre de Brach addressed to his friend, Pierre de Dampmartin, fellow student and companion of the Floral Games, and in which he describes a journey which he took to the castle of Bartas at Montfort in Gascony in company with Guillaume Saluste:

"Le soleil se levant de son nuiteux sejour,
Avecques nos travaux nous ramena le jour
Que nous devions partir, Saluste époint d'envie
D'aller revoir les champs de sa chere patrie,
Et moi de m'esloigner de la confusion
De quelques fols s'armans pour la sedition,
D'où le peuple auguroit, murmurant par la ville,
L'indomptable fureur d'une guerre civile."

It is probable that this journey was undertaken in the summer of 1567, shortly after Brach and Dampmartin had won their prizes in the Floral Games. Affairs in France were heading toward the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. So troubled were the times that the university remained closed in the fall of 1567.[83]

The poet relates that after visiting the lodging of his friend Dampmartin, three times in vain, to tell him good-bye, he went in quest of Du Bartas, or as he calls him, Saluste, and they set out on horseback at sunrise, determined to arrive at Montfort the same day,

"Bien aises de laisser les prisons d'une ville[84]
Où soubs le joug des loix nostre esprit est servile:
Entamant ce pendant divers propos, affin
De pouvoir en parlant accourcir le chemin."

"Ici le tapis verd d'une plate campagne,
Ici le front bossé d'une haute montagne,

[83] R. Gadave, *Documents sur l'Histoire de l'Université de Toulouse*, p. 172. Paris, Picard, 1910.

[84] Tome ii, pp. 176 ff.

Ici l'ombrage frais des épesses forests,
Ici les riches dons de la blonde Ceres,
Ici d'un champ fertil la terre labourée,
Ici le plain herbu qui bigorre une prée
Esblouissent nos yeux au lustre des couleurs
Que redonne l'esmail de mille & mille fleurs."

"Nous trouvons en chemin de paisans une presse
Qui leurs biens apportoient dans leur ville maistresse;
Tout ainsi que l'on voit que les petits ruisseaux
Apportent dans la mer le tribut de leurs eaux.
L'un d'un panier de fruit a la teste chargée;
L'autre porte à plain bras un grand fais de jonchée;
L'un porte dans sa main le pepiant poulet,
L'autre dessus son col le beslant agnelet,
Et chacun qui venoit apportoit quelque chose
Pour de sa pouvreté enrichir ta Tolose."

. . . . . .

"Alors le clair Phœbus, en sa courçe ordonnée,
Estoit au mi-chemin de sa longue journée,
Et du rayon ardent de son œil enflammé
En feu tout sembloit estre icy bas alumé;
Quand, fâché de sentir cete chaleur extreme,
Je m'advançay tout seul, bâtissant en moi-mesme
Mille chasteaux en l'ær que mon esprit faisoit
Sur le moule incertain de ce qui lui plaisoit.
A la fin, ennuyé de ces vaines pencées
Trop souvent à par moi vainement repencées,
Saluste j'appelay & trois & quatre fois;
Comme il ne respondoit, je rehaussay ma vois,
Estimant que Zephir de son alaine mole
Emportast parmi l'ær le son de ma parole.
Mais je le vi de loin qui venoit pas à pas
Branlant deçà, delà, penchant sa teste en bas,
Sur le col du cheval ayant lâché la bride,
Qui marchoit à son aise & lui servoit de guide."

"Alors je recommence à l'appeller plus fort;
Mais il ne respondoit non plus qu'un homme mort,
Me faisant souvenir en sa forme endormie

De ceux qui sont attains de quelque maladie,
Et qui, pour changer d'ær estants mis à cheval,
Tremblent, mal assurés, se plaignant de leur mal."

"Voyant qu'il ne m'oioit, mon chemin je rebrousse,
Je m'approche de lui, roidement je le pousse,
Le tenant toutefois d'une main arresté
De peur qu'il ne tombast devers l'autre costé;
A la fin il s'esveille, &, tenant bonne mine,
Il dist qu'en son esprit quelque chose il rumine,
Qu'il ravassoit ailleurs, qu'il n'estoit endormi,
Bien que la nuit passée il n'eust guere dormi.
Mais quoi! tout aussi tost encore il resommeille:
Quatre fois il s'endort, quatre fois je l'esveille."

"A la fin, pour oster le sommeil otieux
Qui silloit à tous coups la paupiere à ses yeux,
Je lui parlay d'Amour, sçachant qu'il avoit l'ame
Captive soubs le joug des beautés d'une Dame:
Le sommeil aussi tost de ses yeux s'en vola;
Sa langue du palais soubdain se décola
En ouvrant le conduit d'une douce eloquence,
Pour me conter d'Amour la force & la puissance,
Les esbats, les plaisirs qu'il mesle avec son fiel,
Les peines, les torments qu'il mesle avec son miel."

Night overtakes the youths before the completion of the journey:

". . . l'obscur de la nuit retournée,
Au chasteau du Bartas borna nostre journée,
Bartas où la nature & l'art industrieux
Semblent pour l'embellir avoir mis tout leur mieux."

After halting for the night, the two friends resume their journey on the morrow, and as they approach Montfort, Du Bartas exclaims:

"Voilà le lieu, dit-il, de ma nativité;
Voilà Monfort qui m'a dans ses bras alaité."

. . . . . .

"Approchant de Monfort, les citoyens venoient,
Qui d'un accolement Saluste bien-venoient;
Et ses autres amis d'une troupe infinie

Jusques dans sa maison nous firent compagnie,
Où nous prenons l'esbat de mille passetemps,
Estants ore à la ville, ores estants aux champs,
Visitant ça & là la Gascongne fertile,
De village en bourgade & de bourgade en ville."

. . . . . .

"Et, vaguants au plaisir du vouloir qui nous mene,
Nous lisons quelque histoire ou Françoise ou Romaine,
Jusqu'à ce que le chaud nous contraint retourner
Enclorre à la maison, jusqu'à l'après disner
Que nous cerchons le frais d'un berceau qui nous couvre, . . ."

. . . . . .

"Et là Saluste & moi, estendus à l'envers,
Lisons dans quelque livre, ou composans des vers,
Inspirés saintement d'une ardeur poëtique,
Estants soubs la fraicheur de cet arbre Delphique."

After tiring of such a pastime, the youths stroll out into the fields and watch the peasants at the harvest. The poet pictures the harvest scene in a simple and vivid manner. He closes his poem with a picture of the charms of rustic life;

"Ainsi, mon Dampmartin, j'aimeroi cent fois mieux
Vivre aux champs en travail qu'en la ville otieux,
Regrettant que le ciel ne m'a voulu permettre
De suivre en travaillant cete vie champestre,
Pour m'estre réjouï aux passetemps divers
Qu'icy je t'ay portraits du pinçeau de mes vers."

Following is the second strophe of the *chant royal* for which Pierre de Brach was awarded the Eglantine in 1567. A comparison with the above later poems indicates the evolution of the poet's art:

"Le président du ciel qui de l'éternité[85]
En son tout infini tient l'éternel espasse,
Et qui par l'esprit sainct de sa divinité
Tout ce que l'homme faict en ce monde compasse,
Voiant que les humains enflammés de fureur
S'ouvrent méchantement le péché plein d'horreur,
Qui d'un murtrier lien dans l'enfer les enlasse,

Pour les tirer de là et leur ouvrir les yeux
Qui peuvent ce monter au ciel la gent humaine
Envoya de là-hault en ces terrestres lieux
Le prophète englouty au sein de la baleyne."

GUY DU FAUR, SIEUR DE PIBRAC.

Another illustrious poet of the Floral Games, who was destined to have a more lasting literary fame in France than either Du Bartas or Brach, was Guy du Faur, sieur de Pibrac, author of the *Quatrains*.

Guy du Faur belonged to one of the best known families of south France in the sixteenth century. He was the son of Pierre du Faur, president in the parlement of Toulouse and from 1535 to 1558 chancellor of the Floral Games. His uncle, Michel du Faur de Saint Jory, was also a president in the parlement and chancellor of the Floral Games for many years, succeeding to the office upon the death of Pierre du Faur in 1559. He in turn was succceeded as chancellor by his son, Pierre du Faur de Saint Jory, who held the office from 1590 to 1600, and who was first president of the parlement. When Michel du Faur was elevated to the office of chancellor, his chair as mainteneur was left vacant. His nephew, Guy du Faur, was elected to succeed him. The record of the *Livre Rouge* states: . . . " fut par commun advis et oppinion desd. seigneurs, chancelier, cappitolz, maincteneurs et maistres, arresté que la résignation faicte par icelluy seigneur chancellier dudict office de maincteneur, estoit accepté et en son lieu feust esleu et nommé monsieur maistre Guy du Faur, seigneur de Pibrac, conseiller au grand conseil et juge-maige de Tholose." In addition to the offices just mentioned, Guy du Faur de Pibrac was a deputy to the States General which assembled at Orléans in 1560, was ambassador from France to the Council of Trent in 1562; he was also *avocat général* in the parlement of Paris in 1565. He accompanied the Duke of Anjou to Poland in 1573. During the reign of this prince, who ascended the throne of France as Henry III, he was, in succession, councilor of state, president of the parlement of Paris, chancellor of Margaret of Navarre, who intrusted him with important missions. An orator

[85] Michel du Faur, president of the parlement of Toulouse, was at this time chancellor of the Floral Games. The poet is playing to the galleries.

of great eloquence, one of the most erudite men of his time, poet, diplomat, statesman, Guy de Pibrac was a typical man of the Renaissance. As a writer, his works embrace: the *Quatrains,* many times reprinted,[86] the *Plaisirs de la Vie Rustique,* and in prose, *Lettres, Discours,* his famous *Apologie de la Saint Barthélemy,* and the *Remonstrances* which he delivered in his quality of *avocat général* at Paris.

De Thou, in his *mémoires,* says of Pibrac, that "he was of an incorruptible probity and of a sincere piety; he had a veritable zeal for the public welfare, a lofty heart, a generous soul, an extreme aversion for avarice, a great deal of charm, and a certain gentleness of spirit. He was handsome, of graceful mien, and endowed by nature with an eloquence which was both harmonious and persuasive; he wrote in Latin with elegance, and had much talent for French poetry; he was only lacking somewhat in action and vivacity; he had never been able to overcome his natural laziness and indolence."[87] Although a Catholic, he displayed a moderate spirit toward the Huguenots, and spent much time in attempting to smooth out the differences between the contending factions at Toulouse. He was a friend of Scaliger, Daurat, Ronsard, Baïf and of all the Pléïade. Florent Chrétien translated his *Quatrains* into Latin and Greek. Rapin called him "*decus secli,*" and Du Bartas dedicated to him his *Triomphe de la foi.* He was likewise on friendly terms with Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, with De Thou, Étienne Pasquier, Michel de l'Hospital, Pithou and Du Vair. He was loved and admired by Montaigne, who eulogized him in his Essays (III, ix),

[86] The latest edition of the *Quatrains* is that of Henry Guy, dean of the faculty of letters in the university of Toulouse, published by Privat at Toulouse, 1904. The poems are preceded by an admirable essay on Pibrac, and the *Quatrains* themselves are annotated. See Jules Claretie, *Les Quatrains de Pibrac,* Paris, Lemerre, 1874. See also Tamizey de Larroque, *Bibliographie de Guy du Faur, de Pibrac,* Polybibl., 1869; Cougny, *Pibrac, sa vie, ses écrits,* 1869.

Early editions: *Cinquante Quatrains contenant préceptes et enseignemens utiles pour la vie de l'homme, composez à l'imitation de Phocylides, d'Epicharmus et autres anciens poëtes grecs. Par le S. de Pibrac,* 1574, in-8. Ch. Pascal: *Vie et Mœurs de Messire Guy du Faur, seigneur de Pybrac, traduit du latin par Guy du Faur, Sr. d'Hermay,* 1617, in-12. The *Quatrains* were translated into English and were included in an early edition, along with the translation of the works of Du Bartas.

[87] Cayla, *Histoire de Toulouse,* p. 497.

and he is likewise mentioned by Rabelais in his book. In spite of the universal esteem in which he was held, his reputation suffered both from his *Apology* for the massacres of Saint Bartholomew, written as a token of gratitude for favors which had been bestowed upon him by the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis, and the king, Charles IX, and from a scandal concerning his alleged relations with the dissolute Margaret of Navarre, whose chancellor he was. After the storm arose concerning his *Apology* for Saint Bartholomew, he retired from the world and composed his *Plaisirs de la vie rustique*. The first edition of his *Quatrains,* fifty in number, appeared in 1574.

The *Quatrains* had an instantaneous success. In their final form they were 126 in number. Maxims or proverbs in verse, they were easily memorized. The form and the moral precepts which they contained were well adapted for use in the instruction of youth, and they became the "Bible" of French school children, being freely quoted until well into the eighteenth century. Of the rôle which this work played in education, Étienne Pasquier says:[88] "Jamais chose ne fut plus utile et agreable au peuple que les Quadrains . . . Nous les faisions apprendre à nos enfants pour leur servir de premiere instruction, et neantmoins dignes d'estre enchâssez aux cœurs des plus grands." In the opening scene of Molière's *Sganarelle,* Gorgibus admonishes his daughter Clélie to throw away the popular romances which she had been reading and to read instead the *Quatrains* of Pibrac:

> Jetez-moi dans le feu tous ces méchants écrits
> Qui gâtent tous les jours tant de jeunes esprits;
> Lisez-moi, comme il faut, au lieu de ces sornettes,
> Les *Quatrains* de Pibrac, et les doctes *Tablettes*
> Du conseiller Matthieu; l'ouvrage est de valeur
> Et plein de beaux dictons à réciter par cœur.

Madame de Maintenon bears testimony of the place occupied by the Quatrains in the instruction of children: Je me souviens encore que ma cousine et moi, qui étions à peu près du même âge, nous passions une partie du jour à garder les dindons de ma tante. On nous plaquoit un masque sur notre nez, car on avoit peur que nous

[88] *Recherches,* VII, 6.

ne nous hâlassions; on nous mettoit au bras un petit panier où étoit notre déjeuner avec un petit livret des *Quatrains* de Pibrac, dont on nous donnoit quelques pages a apprendre par jour. . . ."[89] In her treatise on the education of girls,[90] Madame de Maintenon observes: "La plus habile (des gouvernantes) est celle qui sait quelques lignes de vers, quelques *Quatrains* de Pibrac qu'elle fait dire en toute occasion, et qu'on récite comme un petit perroquet."

The *Quatrains* are, according to their author, an imitation of Phocylides, Epicharmus and other ancient Greek poets. As a matter of fact, they are drawn from various sources of antiquity, particularly Plutarch, as well as from the Bible.[91] In their sources they are of the Renaissance; in their form, of the middle ages. Beginning with the *Enseignemens* and *Prouverbes moraulx* of Christine de Pisan, proverbial poetry had been common in north France throughout the period of the Rhetoricians. Pibrac handles the proverbial subjects which he treats after two manners. Some of the *Quatrains* form series, others are isolated. The subject is stated in the first line and developed in the remaining lines of a single *Quatrain* or of a series, as the case may be. The intent of the author is a moral one, and in his *Quatrains* he voices his moral philosophy.

Guy de Pibrac is a thorough product of the influence of the Floral Games. While he never won a prize in the annual competitions, except a flower of encouragement in his childhood,[92] he was a mainteneur in the period when the general ideas of the Renaissance were having a strong influence on the young poets of Toulouse. Although he did not express himself in the conventional

[89] *Conseils aux demoiselles,* édit. Lavallé, Paris, 1857, t. I, p. 98. Quoted by Henry Guy.

[90] *Entretiens sur l'éducation de jeunes filles,* édit. Lavallé, Paris, 1854, p. 144. Quoted from Henry Guy.

[91] Henry Guy: *Les Quatrains de Pibrac,* pp. 12 ff., Toulouse, 1904.

[92] In 1572, Pierre du Faur, the young son of Guy de Pibrac, was awarded a flower (prize) of encouragement by the Floral Games in the form of an *œillet,* or pink. Upon this occasion his father composed a *sonnet,* of which the following is the beginning:

> "Mon fils, tu as gaigné ceste petite fleur
> Dont je voy mon enfance à ton âge estrénée,
> Mais comme elle me fut par mon père donnée,
> J'eusse aussi désiré en estre le donneur."

Quoted by F. de Gélis in his manuscript edition of the *Livre Rogue,* f. 269, v°.

chant royal, he chose a form as truly Rhetorician as that employed by the Floral Games.[93] That he chose to treat moral subjects is no doubt due to the environment of his youth and manhood. He came of a family of parlementaires, and was himself connected with the parlement. The members of the parlement of Toulouse, particularly in the time of Henry II, had a reputation for stern probity and incorruptibility. At a time when the corruption of the parlement of Paris was common talk, that of Toulouse was held up as an example of correctness. The moral side of antiquity was attractive to the legal and judicial mind. Mathieu de Chalvet, who was president of the parlement of Toulouse in the middle of the sixteenth century (as well as poet and mainteneur of the Floral Games) was especially attracted by Seneca, and translated his essays. That Pibrac as a poet was the product of his Toulouse environment, there can be no doubt.

As previously stated, the poet expresses his thoughts in series of *quatrains*, of which the following is a good illustration:

> Tout l'vniuers n'est qu'vne cité ronde,
> Chacun a droict de s'en dire bourgeois,
> Le Scythe et More autant que le Gregois,
> Le plus petit que le plus grand du monde.

[93] Proverbial refrains were common enough in the *chants royaux* of the poets of the Floral Games. In an impromptu trial (*essay*) by which the merits of the poets came to be tested, as has been stated elsewhere, the contestants were shut up in a room and assigned a refrain, most often in the form of a proverb, upon which they were compelled to compose verses: at first *quatrains*, *huitains* or *dixains*, eventually *sonnets*. The *sonnet* became the sole form employed in the *Essay*. Note the proverbial nature of these refrains which have been culled from the *Livre Rouge:*

> "Point n'est à tous parvenir à Corinthe."
> "Le vice et la vertu ne sont jamais ensemble."
> "Une seule vertu mile vices efface."
> "Qui trop ayme la terre est ennemy du ciel."
> "Ung chemin aus vertus, plusieurs chemins au vice."
> "Plusieurs vont au combat, un seule gaigne la palme."
> "Le frain de la raison dompte les plus farouches."
> "Le seul soing du seigneur est la garde des villes."
> "La chaleur du soleil est la vie du monde."

Note the difficulty of the rime word in the first of the refrains cited. It would take a crested poet to be able to rime to *Corinthe!* Cf. Rostand's *Cyrano*, in Act I, where Cyrano selects the difficult word *pleutre* as a rime word in his extemporary ballade.

Dans le pourpris de ceste cité belle
Dieu a logé l'homme comme en lieu sainct,
Comme en vn Temple, où luymesmes s'est peinct
En mil endroicts de couleur immortelle.

Il n'y a coing si petit dans ce Temple
Où la grandeur n'apparoisse de Dieu:
L'homme est planté iustement au milieu,
A fin que mieux par tout il la contemple.

Il ne sçauroit ailleurs mieux la cognoistre
Que dedans soy, où comme en vn miroir,
La terre il peut et le ciel mesme voir,
Car tout le monde est compris en son estre. (6–9)

The following illustrates the isolated *quatrain:*

Ne vois au bal, qui n'aymera la danse,
Ny au banquet qui ne voudra manger,
Ny sur la mer qui craindra le danger,
Ny à la Cour qui dira ce qu'il pense. (105)

The following *quatrains* illustrate other phases of the poet's thought:

Qui a de soi parfaicte cognoissance
N'ignore rien de ce qu'il fault sçauoir:
Mais le moyen asseuré de l'auoir,
Est se mirer dedans la sapience. (10)

Heureux qui met en Dieu son esperance,
Et qui l'inuoque en sa prosperité
Autant ou plus qu'en son aduersité,.
Et ne se fie en humaine asseurance. (22)

Les biens du corps et ceux de la fortune
Ne sont pas biens, à parler proprement:
Ils sont subiects au moindre changement,
Mais la vertu demeure tousiours vne. (25)

Ayme l'honneur plus que ta propre vie:
I'entens l'honneur qui consiste au deuoir
Que rendre on doit, selon, l'humain pouuoir,
A Dieu, au Roy, aux Loix, à sa Patrie. (33)

Vertu ès mœurs ne s'acquiert par l'estude,
Ne par argent, ne par fauer des Roys,
Ne par vn acte, ou par deux, ou par trois,
Ains par constante et par longue habitude. (61)

Qui lit beaucoup, et iamais ne medite,[94]
Semble à celuy qui mange auidement,
Et de tous mets surcharge tellement
Son estomach, que rien ne luy profite. (62)

Maint vn pouuoit par temps deuenir sage,
S'il n'eust cuidé l'estre ia tout à faict.
Quel artisant fut onc maistre parfaict,
Du premier iour de son apprentissage? (64)

In the very narrow confines of his small study chamber, seated on a high-backed bench, the jurist poet, as he gazed out of the single narrow window upon the undulating Gascon plain,[95] reflected upon the moral issues of life and upon the pleasures of a quiet existence, far from the crowd and surrounded by the peaceful quiet of the country:

Sans doncques plus avant du propos m'égarer,
Je dis que lorsqu'on voit les champs se bigarrer,
De boutons et de fleurs, alors l'homme champêtre
Reçoit mille plaisirs: soit qu'il regarde paître
Ses vaches et ses bœufs et le troupeau menu,
Ou qu'il voise nombrer, quand le soir est venu,
Les agnelets au parc pour en savoir le compte,
Et du beurre vendu, et à quoi le lait monte;
Ou soit, qu'au point du jour, d'un bouton nouvelet
De quelque franc rosier, il fasse un chapelet
Aux Faunes, citoyens de la forêt voisine,
Ou à la terre mère, honorant sa gésine . . .[96]

[94] An English poet said more pointedly of a learned ass:

"Who writes at last laboriously to show
How much a man may read, how little know."
Thomas Franklin, London, 1753.

[95] Upon a visit to the château of Pibrac in the summer of 1919, the writer was shown the small room in which, according to monsieur Raoul de Pibrac, descendant of Guy de Pibrac and present owner of the estate, the poet composed his works.

[96] *Anthologie poétique française du xvie siècle* (by Maurice Allem), Garnier Frères, Paris, Tome 2, p. 29.

Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique, from which the above is quoted, is a conventional poem after the manner of the Pléïade, but in his *Quatrains* the poet makes a genuine contribution to the literature of the Renaissance.

Other poets of the Toulouse group contemporary with the Pléïade, who published volumes of poetry and who attained considerable literary reputation, were Jean de Rangouse,[97] rival of Ronsard for the affections of Hélène de Surgères, maid of honor to the queen Cathérine de Médicis; Jean de Figon,[98] whom Colletet included among his lives of the poets, Gabriel de Terlon,[99] and Pierre Le Loyer.

PIERRE LE LOYER.

Pierre Le Loyer, of Anjou, was a student at Toulouse and won the Eglantine in 1572. He was the sieur de la Brosse and was born in 1550 at Huillé, a village on the Loire. After studying law at Toulouse, he went to Paris to practice; but soon retired to his native province, where he occupied the office of *conseiller au présidial* at Angers. He died in 1634. He was a learned man, versed in the ancient languages. His erudition turned into a mania for finding

[97] Dumège gives a sketch of Rangouse in his *Biographie toulousaine.* He was a magistrate and poet. He wrote a large number of *chansons,* for which he composed the airs. Remy Belleau and the poets of the Pléïade furnished him material for several musical compositions. While still quite young, he went to Paris where he became allied with Ronsard and other celebrated men of letters. It is said that his friendship with Ronsard was cooled by the rivalry in love mentioned above in the text. He was a *conseiller* in the parlement at Toulouse from 1558, and died in that city in 1569. He won the Violet in 1550.

[98] Jean de Figon was a student from Monteillimar in Dauphiné. Guillaume Colletet devoted to him one of his *Vies des Poètes françois.* He won the Eglantine in 1558.

[99] Gabriel de Terlon (Trellon), who won the Marigold (Souci) in 1566, and the Eglantine in 1569, was the son of Claude de Terlon who had won the Marigold in 1540, brother of Claude de Terlon, an intense partisan of the *Ligue,* and a poet of considerable fame; a sketch of whom was included by Colletet in his lives. Claude de Terlon, the father, was a distinguished lawyer, and according to Lafaille, the most distinguished orator of his time. He was elected capitoul of Toulouse in 1555, and in 1559 was chosen as a deputy to accompany Guy de Pibrac to the States General at Orléans. Gabriel de Terlon became a mainteneur of the Floral Games in 1591. He was the author of several literary compositions, notably of a longer poem in six cantos: *Chants des Vertus,* mentioned by Dumège in his *Biographie toulousaine.*

in the oriental languages the etymology of names of French cities, villages, hamlets, and even of the houses of his native Anjou. In the year in which he won his prize, he published at Toulouse a volume of verses, some of which had no doubt been read before the judges of the Floral Games. The title of this volume, which appeared from the press of Colomiès, was: *L'Idylle sur le soir et autres vers par Pierre Le Loyer, Seigneur de la Brosse, Angevin.*[100] He also published at Paris poetic works[101] containing the *Amours de Flore, Sonnets, Folasteries et Ébats de jeunesse, Épigrammes,* and *Bocage de l'art d'aimer,* imitated from Ovid, from which the following stanzas are taken:

PREMIER BOCAGE DE L'ART D'AIMER.[102]

Stances.

Quiconque soit des Français qui ignore
Quel est d'aimer et l'art et le savoir,
Lise mes vers et fasse son devoir
D'effectuer ce qu'il va lire encore.

Par art, la nef parmi les flots se glisse,
Et d'avirons la barque on fait tourner;
Par art on doit les charrettes mener,
Par art il faut que l'amour se régisse.

Or, ce bel art, bien qu'il soit difficile,
Apre et fâcheux en ses premiers progrès,
S'il est suivi, l'on s'aperçoit après
Qu'il est plus doux, plus joyeux et facile.

L'amour commence au choix qu'on fait des belles,
Après le choix survient le deviser,
Puis la prière et le simple baiser,
Et la merci que l'on désire d'elles.

[100] Cf. Goujet: *Bibliothèque française,* and Joseph Dedieu: *L'Art poétique français, Toulouse,* 1909.

[101] Maurice Allem (*Anthol. poétique du xvie siècle*) says that this volume was published in 1570 during his stay at Paris. Since he was at Toulouse at that time, the volume either appeared after 1572 or prior to his winning a prize at Toulouse.

[102] This poem is taken from Maurice Allem, mentioned above.

Et pour choisir les belles à ta guise,
Il faut hanter la cour où elles sont,
Et les festins et les bals qui se font,
Et les beaux lieux, et la plus grande église.

Sois bien vêtu, et surtout prends-toi garde
D'être bien net, bien propre et bien gentil:
Plus qu'un esprit admirable et subtil,
Ce qui se voit, une femme regarde.

Ce grand Socrate, ornement de la Grèce,
Fut-il jamais des femmes estimé?
Et toutefois il tenait enfermé
Dans son esprit le trésor de sagesse.

Et, si tu peux, apprends la poésie
Et le beau ton de mille chants divers:
Ne vois-tu pas la musique et les vers
Gagner les sens, l'âme et la fantaisie?

Être à cheval et lui donner carrière,
Virevolter en maint estourbillon,
Darder la barre et pousser le ballon,
Cela sert bien d'une amource première.

Mêle souvent du sel en tes paroles;
N'hésite point, parle sans trop parler;
Ne sois point long, cela ne peut aller
Qu'à ces pédants qui tonnent aux écoles.

Va entre deux et ne sois point farouche,
Ni trop joyeux, si tu veux parler bien;
Car la vertu consiste en son moyen:
Au trop et peu toujours le vice touche.

Vers les amours, quand le désir t'appelle,
Ne songe pas à fonder ton appui
Dessus la veuve et la femme d'autrui,
Aussi plutôt sur la tendre pucelle.

L'œillet vermeil est au sein de la fille:
Quand il flétrit on le jette au fumier;
La rose est plus prisée en son verger,
Que quand la main et l'arrache et la pille.

Dedans le bal va t'asseoir auprès d'elle,
L'entretenir, l'appuyer de tes bras;
Et si tu vois qu'elle est sise bien bas,
Fais-lui servir tes genoux d'escabelle.

Dessus sa robe ôte-lui la poussière,
Ou fais semblant de l'ôter pour le moins;
Danse avec elle et lui serre les mains,
Montrant l'effort de sa grâce meurtrière.

Si trop longtemps la danse te retarde
Pour la conduire où elle veut aller,
Tends-lui la main et d'un humble parler
En t'inclinant prie que Dieu la garde.

. . . . . .

CONCLUSION.

Efforts have been made from time to time to establish the existence of a Pléiade at Toulouse. While there may have been no school there with conscious and definite reforms in mind concerning the language and poetry in general, there was a group actively engaged in working out the new ideas of the Renaissance, either men who were followers of the Pléiade of the north or who worked independently of them. The ideas of the Pléiade were immediately taken up by Bernard de Poey. Robert Garnier received his poetic inspiration at Toulouse, and it was there that he published his first volume of verse. Du Bartas and Pibrac stand out as genuine contributors to the literature of the Renaissance, and are complements of the Pléiade. Pierre de Brach was a very successful follower of the Pléiade, and made a definite contribution to the poetic ideas of the time by using a series of *sonnets* as a vehicle for satire.[103] Pierre Le Loyer was a graceful and rather prolific poet. A semblance of a school is seen in the close friendship of Du Bartas, Brach and Pierre de Dampmartin. Thus, we find contemporary with the Pléiade of the north, at least seven poets at Toulouse working at new ideas, either making direct contributions or spreading the ideas of the Pléiade. In addition to this, the Floral Games

[103] In must be admitted, however, that in the expression of satire in the *sonnet,* Brach was foreshadowed by Du Bellay.

exercised a stimulating influence on the students of the university, and many of these after leaving Toulouse spread throughout France an interest in and love for poetry. In considering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in France, it is impossible to arrive at a complete understanding of the history of poetry without taking into consideration the influence of the Floral Games of Toulouse. The poetry of the south has long been neglected and affords a fine field of research.

In conclusion, it may be well to sum up the growth of poetry in both the north and south of France. There is a striking parallel in its growth in the two parts of the country. The following outline in parallel columns may be of use in comparing the two sections:

CENTURY	NORTH FRANCE.	SOUTH FRANCE.
XII	Crude civilization. Heroic poetry. Trouvères and Jongleurs.	Advanced civilization. Lyric poetry. Troubadours and Joglars.
XIII	Decline of Heroic Poetry. Rise of the middle class.	Decline of Lyric Poetry. Rise of the middle class.
XIV	Poetry becomes Rhetoric; the poets Rhetoricians, guided by books of rules, or Arts of Rhetoric.	Poetry becomes *Amor,* or Gay Science; the poets *Fins Amants,* guided by the rules of the *Leys d'Amors.*
XV	Decline of Rhetoric at the end of century.	Decline of Gay Science at the end of the century.
XVI Before 1550.	Spread of Rhetoric in the decadence; multiplication of Rhetoricians.	Adoption of Rhetoricians as models, together with their books as guides. Gay Science becomes College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric. *Leys d' Amors* succeeded by *Art et Science de Rhétorique.*
After 1550.	Rise of the Pléiade. Successful imitation of the masterpieces of antiquity.	Immediate influence of the Pléiade. Attraction of general philosophical and scientific ideas of the Renaissance. The Rhetorician form and spirit modified by these two forces.
After 1665.		Direct contributions to the new literature by Du Bartas, Pibrac, and Brach.
XVII First half	Formation of the classical ideal.	Profound influence of the Pléiade upon the content and language of the *chant royal.*

Second half	Perfecting of the classical ideal.	Reorganization of the College of Rhetoric into the Academy of the Floral Games by Louis XIV in 1694. Adoption of the classical ideal. *Chant royal* displaced by odes, elegies, sonnets, etc.

VITA

The writer was born at Huntsville, Alabama, August 10, 1876. His earlier life was spent at Falmouth, Kentucky. He entered Georgetown College, Kentucky, in 1897, where he pursued the course of studies known as the "modern language group." He graduated in 1901 with the A.B. degree. After graduation, he became principal of the Scottsboro, Ala., Institute, resigning in the spring of 1903 for the purpose of going abroad for study. After spending the spring and summer in Paris and Berlin, he returned to Howard College, Birmingham, Ala., as professor of modern languages. He pursued courses in modern languages in the following summer schools: Summer School of the South, Knoxville, Tenn., 1902; Cornell University, 1904; University of Chicago, 1905; Germany, 1907; University of Caen, Normandy, 1909; Columbia University, 1913, 1918, 1920. He was the "American Dean" at the University of Toulouse, France, 1919. In 1910 he received the A.M. degree from Howard College for work in English and History. In 1918 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Howard College. In the spring of 1917 he became Dean of Howard College and was Acting President from September, 1917, to January, 1919. He was president of the Alabama Association of Colleges in 1918; is a member of the Modern Language Association of America and an individual member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; he is a member of the Commission on Accredited Secondary Schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In 1919 he was presented with the silver medal of the *Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse.* He is editor of Picard's *La Petite Ville,* Ginn & Co., Boston. He has been instructor in French in the summer schools of the University of Alabama and of Columbia University, and instructor in French in the Department of University Extension of Columbia University during the session of 1920–21. He has spent the regular session of 1920–21 as graduate student in Romance languages in Columbia University.

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